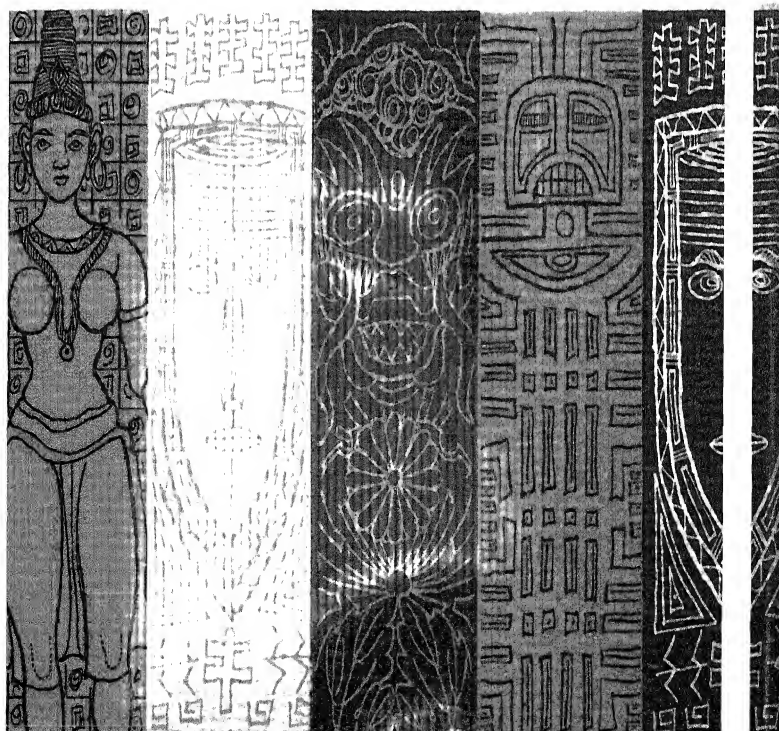


The Sexual Relations of Mankind

Translated by Samuel Putnam



This is a superb translation of the masterpiece that crowned the career of the great Italian scientist and literary genius; the peer of Charles Darwin, Lombroso, Krafft-Ebing, Cannon, Welch and Havelock Ellis. In no other single volume have the myriad forms of sexual expression been treated with the combination of authority, sympathy and artistry that Professor Mantegazza attains in this work. Whether he is discussing something as detailed as "The Sexual Embrace and Its Forms" or as general as "The Future Possibilities of Love" he is everywhere the master: informed, but simple; witty, but reverent; lyrical, but of the earth earthy.

Paolo Mantegazza was one of the world's greatest anthropologists and sexologists. At Florence he founded the Museum of Anthropology, was Professor at the Universities of Pisa and Milan besides being a member of the Italian Parliament and a Senator.

Mr. Samuel Putnam is the distinguished translator of the works of Rabelais and editor of the Viking Portable Cervantes.



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Mantegaza

The sexual relations of mankind

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

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THIS work, with the two already published, the *Physiology of Love* (*Fisiologia dell' amore*) and the *Hygiene of Love* (*Igiene dell' amore*), completes the *Love Trilogy* (*Trilogia dell' amore*).

My friend, the reader, you who, for many years now, have accorded me a kindly attention in the course of my studies on the subject of mankind, you are not to take in bad part the daring volume with which I here present you, and which represents one of the most important pages of human psychology. If you were merely to glance at the title, or to read but a few pages of it, it well may be that you would think harshly of it; but when you shall have read it through, I am certain that you will feel like shedding a few tears, as I have done in the writing of it. The veiling of the recesses of the human heart in the name of modesty may appear a virtue; but it is, to tell the truth, nothing other than fear or hypocrisy. Modern science, which is fashioning a morality that is truer, safer and more frank, can afford to take its stand only upon the whole, deep-going consciousness of the whole man. That is why it is, hoping for a better mankind to be, I have sought to show man as he has been and man as he is today. Read my book, therefore, without prejudice, as I have honestly thought it out and written it.

PAOLO MANTEGAZZA

Serenella

PREFACE TO THE ELEVENTH EDITION

THE MODESTY OF SCIENCE ¹

WHEN I first published the *Hygiene of Love*, I was surprised to observe how, by some (fortunately few in number), it was looked upon as a veritable offense to modesty, one to be punished in accordance with the laws governing the press, and particularly, those having to do with the public welfare. One of the most renowned men of letters in Italy even went so far as to exclaim that, were he to catch sight of the book in question in a lady's drawing room, he would never call upon her again.

This notoriety which was stirred up over my book surprised me, but it did not pain me; instead, I had recourse to Time, who corrects the errata on nearly all the pages of human wretchedness. And Time was a gentleman, and held that I was right.

The man of letters of whom I am speaking would like to have turned midnight into midday, or to have gone whale-fishing in the Arno; and accordingly, in the opinion he passed, he was at once presumptuous and unjust. I had not written my book that it might find a place in ladies' drawing rooms; I had written it for the young, for young men and for women as well, for all persons of good sense, who would like to exercise all of life's functions with science and with conscience to guide them.

If Time, as I say, treated me like a gentleman, it was for the reason that my *Hygiene of Love* scientifically demonstrated the harm that comes to health from libertinism, masturbation, all the perversions of love, while loudly proclaiming the advantages of chastity, and so was to be looked upon as a moral work, and not in any wise as an offense to modesty. It was, indeed, translated into French and pub-

¹ I have thought it timely to reproduce here the Preface to the reprint of the *Hygiene of Love*.

lished in the *Library of Universal Science*; it was later translated into German, and was received with much favor by the most serious-minded men of all countries.

A few years afterward, I published another book, *The Sexual Relations of Mankind*. The storm, now become a hurricane, criticism was transformed into invective, and mass-meetings came near being held, to demand of the Government that I be expelled from my professional chair and from the Senate. For a number of months, I could not open a newspaper without seeing my name, which had always been that of a gentleman and a scholar, piteously dragged through the mire, with the most vituperative adjectives and the most eloquent adverbs to be found in our dictionary. All this had followed the publication of the first volume,² for my critics had not waited to judge the work in its entirety. When the second volume appeared, with its conclusion exalting monogamy as the highest and most perfect form of love, my adversaries were as unanimous in their silence as they previously had been in their imprecations. None had the courage to revise his opinion.

Throughout the whole of this warfare, I stood my guns, tranquil and serene, sure in my consciousness of being a gentleman; but for all of that, I felt like packing my luggage and emigrating, after having witnessed all good sense go so a-foundering and hypocrisy triumphantly exalted.

Today, the storm is over. *The Sexual Relations of Mankind* has been translated into French, German and Spanish [and now into English]; and neither in Italy, France, Germany nor Spain has this book led to the commission of a single sin the more, even though it be among the most innocent of the sins of desire.

As an anthropologist, I have studied man; I have studied him in his most animal-like loves, and in his highest ecstasies ("*Human Ecstasies*"); and my mind, which is always disposed to cherish and to forgive, finds comfort in the fact that one of Italy's leading publishers paid me for the manuscript of my *Human Ecstasies* the identical price which had been given me for *The Sexual Relations of Mankind*. This

² Part I of the present work.

is the response which I would shout to those malicious ones here and there, who go crying to the four winds that I have written an obscene book merely to earn a few sous.

Now that the storm-wind has subsided, the clouds have vanished, and the heavens are once more serene, permit me to put to you an honest and a justifiable question: Do you believe that there is such a thing as modesty where science is concerned?

Hundreds of volumes and articles have been written, and hundreds more will be written, by way of tracing the bounds of modesty in art and letters; and there are those who feel that there should be certain Pillars of Hercules, a *Sancta Sanctorum*, for science as well. To this, I must reply with a frank and emphatic negative. For me, all the casuistic quibblings over modesty, in art and in science, are cut short by the affirmation which, again for me, comes to take on the dignity and strength of a dogma: *In art, the beautiful; in science, the true.*

The bigots, the false puritans, may burn Tibullus and Anacreon, Catullus and Ariosto; yet these great of earth will remain forever in the human Olympus, where the cult of the beautiful has assigned them their seats among the first. The obscene, even aside from all moral considerations, has nothing to do with art, but dishonors it; for the obscene is not beautiful. True beauty speaks to us of love and vice, depicts for us Venus Uranios and Venus Pandamos; for this is art's higher realm. No hypocritical casuistry or puritanical meticulousness shall take from art the incontestable right to portray the beautiful where it finds it, lighting in our hearts thereby the aesthetic torch, which is one of the purest and loftiest joys that come to inflame the heart or brain.

If in art, the beautiful should be our one and only lord and master, in science, the one and true God should be the truth. If one or another of these books of mine can be shown to contain false, hasty or unreasoned judgments, you are right in condemning it. For science, the obscene does not exist, or is a psychic fact, to be studied under the same lens and in the same crucibles which we employ in analyzing all that is human, the beautiful and the ugly, the lofty and the

base, the vulgar and the sublime. All that is human is the province of science; and if we study but one face of the great human polyhedron, we do not more than scratch the epidermis of that proteiform and versatile creature who is known as man.

In passing, I cannot refrain from reminding you that, in the earthly Paradise, Adam and Eve were not ashamed of their nudity, until after they had committed their first sin, that sin which was to change angels into men and cast over them, for all centuries to come, the vestments of hypocrisy. I further would remind you that never do we hear so much talk of modesty and of virtue as in the most corrupt ages and the most debauched societies; just as the greatest boasters are the greatest cowards, and the timid speak always of their valor.

As for you, false puritans or sexagenarian Tartuffes, you who have hurled anathema at the *Hygiene of Love* and *The Sexual Relations of Mankind*, do you really in good faith believe that these books of mine are calculated to teach any new vice to our young men, who are in the habit of shedding the bloom of innocence in clandestine conversation with the chambermaid, or in gazing upon those photographs which are for sale in cafés and hostelries? One thing I know is, that I am in possession of hundreds of letters from honest young fellows, who are warm in the thanks they give me for the good rendered them by my books, books which I have penned, always, with no blush of shame upon my brow and with the thought of my blessed mother in mind, books in which I have ever aimed at imparting to my fellow-countrymen a morality that should be more elevated and more sincere.

Come forth, then, O holy, sacred shades of ancient Greece, come forth to drive afar from us the humid, fetid clouds of imposture, clothing everything about us in a stench that is at once that of the sacristy and of the brothel; destroy with the serene and warming rays of your esthetic light those poisonous molds which send down sturdy roots into the deepest fissures of our false and corrupted civilization. Grant us. O Greeks, your chaste and holy nudity, the nudity of

the Venus de Medici; free this flesh of ours from its paintings and its rougings, from the rags and tatters of the thousand and one hypocrisies that cover us; stand us once more nude before the sun, that sun which every morning, eternally young, rises to bestow its light upon the human family, with a caress for body and for soul, disdaining to penetrate those dark profundities where only mold can grow, and where all the false virtues and sick voluptuousness of this century of ours lie fermenting.

PAOLO MANTEGAZZA

INTRODUCTION

FEW writers of the Age of Innocence are now read so widely and reprinted as often as Mantegazza. A biographer in search of six characters could find them all in the versatile Italian: physician-surgeon, laboratory-worker, author-editor, traveller-anthropologist, sanitarian and senator. A brief sketch of his unique career may appropriately be affixed to this edition of *Gli amori degli uomini*.

Paolo Mantegazza was born, of Lombard stock, at Monza on the banks of the Lambro (October 31, 1831). Fortune smiled over his cradle, for his father, Frederico Mantegazza, was an eminent judge; his mother, the Countess Laura Soliera, founded the first public nursery (*crèche*) and the first professional school for women in Italy. Paolo was a eugenic child. The young men of Europe once revolted against ancient oppression, personified in Metternich. During the Five Days (the historic *Cinque Giorni*), the adolescent Paolo fought valiantly on the barricades of Milan (1848). When Revolution is over, youth must return to its school-books; then came university-days, and Paolo matriculated in medicine at Pisa, continued at Milan, and graduated at Pavia (1854).

Released from class-rooms, the impulse which was to drive Paolo from Lapland to India, asserted itself; instead of settling down, he travelled to the New World. For four years he pursued postgraduate courses in the forests of Paraguay and amid the aborigines of the Argentine. He predicted an important future for Argentina, which was then mainly in the gerundive state. Here Mantegazza married a creole, who worked with him for the welfare of the rising Republic. In South America, the young physician became an anthropologist. Long before, the mariner who was destined to discover America, had preceded Paolo as a student in the University of Pavia, but no man in the era of Christopher Columbus

found in the heart of the savage the secrets that were to be revealed to Mantegazza.

During his South American period, Mantegazza heard of *Erythroxylon coca*. Of course he began to chew the leaves by the drachm. He liked "the divine plant of the Incas," its pungent taste and the feeling of warm comfort in his mouth. Suddenly, with such ease that he did not upset the burning lamp, he leaped from the ground to his writing-desk. As the narcotic worked on the experimenter, he began to philosophize. He declared God was unjust for not permitting man to be happy forever, and he explained to his auditors, "I prefer a life of ten years with Coca to a life of centuries without Coca." Upon returning to Italy (1858), he published a prize essay on the subject (Milan, 1859), which first made the parent-plant of cocaine known to the medical profession of Europe. In this early research, we see Paolo Mantegazza in epitome: his wanderlust, his curiosity, his outspokenness, his tendency to florid exaggeration, his scientific and literary gifts.

Mantegazza had come back to his native land to organize a group of colonists for the Argentine, but the struggle for Italian unity changed his plans. The physician, who in his early twenties had written a substantial volume on *Fisiologia del Piacere* (The Physiology of Pleasure, 1854), was to see, in the military hospitals, mankind in the dolor of war. The characteristic treachery of Napoleon III abruptly ended the conflict by the "peace of Villafranca" (1859), but made subsequent wars inevitable for Italy.

Mantegazza was now on the threshold of distinguished achievements. He obtained, by competitive examination, the chair of general pathology at the University of Pavia. The new professor, still in his twenties, already a veteran of science, was full of energy. Grafting the testicles of frogs beneath the skin of the abdominal cavity wall, and recovering living spermatozoa in the tissue after seventy days, he thus became a pioneer of testicular transplantation (1860). He was the first to point out the significance of the leucocytes in the formation of white thrombi (1869)—an important contribution to our early knowledge of thrombosis. He

established, in his *alma mater*, Italy's first laboratory of experimental pathology; here were trained such scientists as Giulio Bizzozero (blood platelets) and Camillo Golgi (Golgi cells).

The period 1870-71 was the Coming of Age of Anthropology. Darwin's *Descent of Man* was published, the Royal Anthropological Institute of London opened its doors, the Anthropological Society of Vienna was established, followed by the Munich Society of Anthropology. Mantegazza, at forty, entered upon the most productive phase of his career. He was appointed first professor of anthropology at Florence (Istituto di Studii Superiori), where his cultural activities recalled the great Florentines of the Renaissance. He established and edited the *Archives of Anthropology and Ethnology*, founded the first Italian Society of Anthropology, and created the first Italian Museum of Anthropology.

The German Emperor who praised Helmholtz because he restricted his activities to physics and never meddled with politics, could not have paid a similar compliment to Mantegazza. For the many-sided Mantegazza was as familiar with the science of government as with the reactions of laboratory-animals, or with the phallic rites of primitive tribes. After serving as deputy for Monza (1865-76) in the Italian Parliament, he was elected to the senate. His writings in this field, aside from a volume of *Political Memoirs*, include *Thoughts on Universal Federation*, *Poverty and Infectious Diseases*. Mantegazza was one of the leading sanitarians of his time, his general publications, almanacs and dictionaries on the subject reaching thousands of readers in various tongues. He was known to his contemporaries as the Apostle of State Hygiene in Italy.

Mantegazza was a prolific author from whose ink-well there flowed a constant stream of technical monographs and popular books. Darwin frequently quotes Mantegazza; for example (*Descent of Man*, 1871, ch. xix): "A full and excellent account of the manner in which savages in all parts of the world ornament themselves is given by the Italian traveller, Prof. Mantegazza . . . the following statements,

when other references are not given, are taken from this work." Elsewhere Darwin points out that his theory of Pangenesis is clearly forestalled in Mantegazza's *Elements of Hygiene*.

References to Mantegazza are found in the publications of such diverse investigators as Cesare Lombroso (criminology), Richard von Krafft-Ebing (psychiatry), Leon-Henri Thoinot (forensic medicine), Patrick Geddes (biology), Hermann Heinrich Ploss (anthropology), W. Golden Mortimer (pharmacology), William Henry Welch (pathology), Walter Bradford Cannon (physiology), Robert Latou Dickinson (anatomy) and Max Thorek (surgery). The makers of modern sexology, Iwan Bloch, Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, often cite their forerunner.

Mantegazza published several travel-books, describing his world-voyages; wrote on the physiology of pleasure (1854), pain (1880), hate (1889); varied from the memoirs of an animal trainer to volumes on the legends of flowers; his studies in craniology (1875) were followed by *Physiognomy and Expression* (1885) and *Human Ecstasy* (1887). His versatility was truly remarkable: not often could the same pen turn out papers on the temperature of urine in various climates, and on errors in the determination of the sphenoidal angle, and then produce that delicate idyll, *Un giorno a Madera* (A Day in Madeira).

Mantegazza is remembered mainly as a "sex-writer," which is sometimes a term of reproach, sometimes a term of honor. His *Fisiologia dell' amore* (Physiology of Love, 1872), *Igiene dell' amore* (Hygiene of Love, 1877), and *Gli amori degli uomini* (Sexual Relations of Mankind, 1885), constitute his *Trilogia dell' amore* (Trilogy of Love). As a delineator of love, Mantegazza has never been surpassed and rarely equalled; he has faults as a writer, but they are invariably the faults of superabundance—from the depths of his nature there poured a thousand pages surcharged with passion—and never of emotional poverty.

When Mantegazza wrote about love, he could not be calm. For everywhere he saw sex, the source of the profoundest of human emotions, bringing tragedy instead of happiness to

mankind. In primitive communities and in centers of civilization he saw the death-mask on the smiling countenance of dawning love. Before his eyes, in the name of Code of Conventional Morality, there passed multitudes of wrecked careers and frustrated hopes: puberty in despair, the lonely middle years, and hopeless old age. It was to stem the world-tide of blood and tears that Mantegazza wrote his *Trilogy*.

Mantegazza's ardent passages are prose poems, too fervid for the present generation which takes its sex without flowers. Yet his circle of readers does not diminish, and more than one metaphor formed in his Florentine study has gone around the globe. Volumes of pompous affectation have been written on platonic love, but Mantegazza pricked the sham with the rapier thrust of an epigram: "Platonic love is the squaring of the circle." He defined the hymen as "the sacred veil which closes the portal of the temple where men are born," and the female bosom as "that golden chalice, from which men quaff love, and children life." Even where he is dated, as in his views on masturbation, his phrases burn themselves into the memory.

As a pioneer sexologist, Mantegazza naturally encountered much opposition. In the Era of the Fig-Leaf, they did not understand, and often assailed the writer of the *Trilogia*. In this warfare, Mantegazza could not retreat; his pen was as a lance striking in dark places, unloosening rusty hinges from the rotting door of prudery. "You who have known me for a long time as a physician and friend," he said, "know that I have the courage to work in the open, and that I have never been among those who applaud the lasciviousness of a ballet dancer, and place fig leaves on Greek statues."

Finally the old fighter had his reward. Woman herself placed the laurel of approval on his flowing white locks. Mantegazza, a child of the Nineteenth Century, made one memorable appearance in the dawn of the Twentieth: with Lombroso, he collaborated in founding the *Laboratoria Antropometrico* (1902). On that occasion, Madame Zola and Madame Rostand came from France, and the foremost ladies of Italy brought gifts and gratitude to Mantegazza. The novelist, Matilda Serao; the youthful poetess, Ada

Negri; and the actress, Adelaide Ristori, eighty years of age, graced the assembly. Professoressa Emma Parodi delivered a brilliant speech to which Mantegazza replied with his old-time eloquence. It was, however, the hail and farewell of love's patriarch.

Mantegazza passed his declining years in his beautiful villa on the Gulf of Spezia; here, where the palm-fringed water meets the yuccas and orange-trees on the shore, he closed the last chapter of his life (August 28, 1910). His monuments are not of marble or forgotten bronze; in many lands and languages, men and women still seek his counsel, for in the printed page there breathes the vital spirit of Paolo Mantegazza.

VICTOR ROBINSON

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PART ONE

I

THE FESTIVALS OF PUBERTY

Initiation of Kaffir Women—Virginal Closeting of Loango Girls—Their Instruction in the Arts of Love—Cruel Initiation of Australian Males—Curious Pre-marital Rites—Exorcisms and Magic Spells—Narra-mang Song of the Tribal Women—Other Forms of Initiation—Ritualistic Abduction of Youths—Custom of Painful Scarification—Dance of the Corroboree—Emblems of Virility—Sorcery and Magic.

WE, who are a modest and, above all, a hypocritic race, we who have learned to blush at a mere glimpse of a pair of underdrawers or at the sound of certain words, which we jealously conceal between the musty pages of great lexicons,—we have no festivals to greet the appearance of the God of Love, no consecrating rites. Many times, the father and mother do not even know that their own son has become a man, that their daughter has become a woman. It is the laundress who alone is in possession of the secret, and who cynically laughs over it and shares the details with the chambermaid or the family cook; what we have is lascivious frenzies, nocturnal self-communings, with the silence of dark corridors and cellarways to hide, as if it were a crime, the acquisition of a force that is meant to transform and redouble life.

This false modesty is not wholly evil; it may be that there is in it a gesture toward, an unconscious divination of, a better world; but as things are, being neither barbaric enough to go nude nor sufficiently virtuous to idealize nudity, we have no occasion to celebrate the appearance of puberty.

Many peoples, on the other hand, less cultured than ourselves, greet the dawn of love with rites that are supremely

important for the study of comparative psychology. By way of having a look at these rites and festivals, we shall make a brief journey among the Kaffirs and the Australians.

When Kaffir girls attain puberty, they are admitted to the circle of women with ceremonies which the chaste missionary, Nauhaus, does not care to describe, confining himself to remarking that they give themselves over to an unspeakable libertinism (*"in tollster Ausgelassenheit"*).¹

According to Reclus, the Zulu girl, when she has reached the age of six months, is subjected to the amputation of a digital phalanx (most often, that of the left ring-finger); the amputated part is hidden in fresh cow's excrement, upon which the blood from the wound is let drip. The hardened dung-cake is then concealed under the ridge of the hut.

In some regions, the father tears a few hairs from the tail of the finest milk-cow, out of which the mother plaits a special tress, which is attached to the girl baby's neck to serve as an amulet. This cow is thereafter sacred, cannot be sold or lent under any pretext whatsoever, but becomes the sister and mystic comrade of the infant, imparting to the latter its own vigor, health and prosperity.

Upon becoming women, young Kaffir girls have to undergo an initiation. A matron gathers a number of them together and leads them down to the river, installing them among the reeds and rushes. She it is who presides over their education, which lasts for a period of from six weeks to seven months; she instructs them in the womanly arts and labors, chief of them being the use of the hoe. This training is accompanied by blows or downright cruelty. During this period, the girls are not permitted to drink milk; they must remove their garments, substituting for them ashes and white clay, fashioning for themselves a covering of rushes and donning a necklace and a girdle of gourd-seeds, designed to assure a worthily cucurbitaceous fecundity. From time to time, they clothe themselves like men or in some other fantastic manner, and go about brandishing clubs and

¹ C. Z. Nauhaus, *Verhandl. der Gesell. für Anthr.*, etc., 1882, p. 205. (TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—Mantegazza's "unspeakable libertinism" (*libertinaggio indicibile*) is not an exact translation of Nauhaus' *tollster Ausgelassenheit*, which is, rather, a *crazed orgy*.)

other weapons and indulging in all sorts of mad actions. At such a time, they may take any liberties they see fit; and it is prudent to avoid them, since they may even slay you with impunity.

They await thus the visit of the great serpent, which is to instruct them in the deepest of mysteries. When it appears to them, the rite is at an end. They shave all the hairs from their bodies and spend the last night of their novitiate in singing, whistling and blowing upon certain reeds, following which, they light a great fire, upon which they cast their reed vestments as they dance around it, keeping time with their hands and feet.

The next morning, they bathe and rid themselves of the slime that covers them; they then paint themselves red, anoint themselves with a gleaming pomade, and return to the village, which receives them with feastings. They choose one of their number to be their queen, this girl selects a young man as her king, and the others in turn pick companions for themselves. None is to be left without one; and in case any maid is too timid to seek a mate, it is the matron's duty to provide her with one. On this occasion, diversion is the order of the day, and all join in a hymn to love. If any offspring results, the parents of the guilty or luckless father make an offering of cows to the girl's family and buy the girl, if her price is not too high. Or they at least purchase the infant, in case the maternal grandfather does not desire to keep it.

Among the negroes of Loango, when a girl has had her first menstruation, she is taken to a specially reserved hut, and from that day on, until she is given to some man, she is known as a virgin, *nkumbi*, or *tschikumbi*, words meaning the same thing. Into any one of these habitations, not more than three girls may enter. They are intrusted by their parents to a woman, whose duty appears to be that of instructing them in the arts of love. The tinkling of a bell and the closing of the door indicate to the curious (especially if of the stronger sex) that the hut has become inviolable. When, on the contrary, the bell is silent and the door open, they may enter this sanctuary of virginity, join

in the music and make merry. In addition to their erotic education, the girls are rubbed with red dust and anointed with palm oil.

This virginal closeting lasts at most the length of an intra-menstrual period; but if the parents so will, or the girls so desire, it may last for a much longer time. When it is over, the virgin repairs to sea or river, where she bathes, paints and anoints herself anew, to be clad, adorned and borne in triumph by her companions. Dances, songs and music that are none too decent provide a festal accompaniment to this consecration of the woman. Pechuel-Loescka once beheld upon a hassock a highly eloquent representation of the first night of love.

In nearly all the Australian tribes, a man is not permitted to marry, unless he has first gone through an initiation which brands him as a man. Sometimes, the tortures to which boys are subjected are so cruel as to ruin their health or cause their deaths; and Dawson wonders if this institution is not the same in scope as the ancient Spartan bath.² He has observed this virility rite among the natives of the West Australia district, a rite that is known as *katneech* in the *chaap wuurong* dialect; it is termed *katnitt* in the *kuurn kopan noot* dialect and *tapmet* in the *peek whuurong* speech. The young neophyte, during the course of his initiation, is called *kutnect*. Dawson states that this rite lasts twelve months, but that the upper incisors are not drawn, as is done in other tribes. He does not inform us, however, as to what takes place; all he says is, that before the young neophyte is restored to his tribe, all the hairs of his beard are pulled out and he is made to drink water mixed with mud.

When the initiation is over, the young man is introduced to the girl who is to become his wife. They may look at each other but are not permitted to exchange any words. When the young man's beard has grown again, and the girl has attained the age of puberty, the latter leaves the tribe to

² Collins, one of the old writers on Australian subjects, described, as far back as 1798, these ceremonies as they were practiced in Port Jackson (*An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, London, 1798).

which she belongs and is intrusted to her future mother-in-law or the bridegroom's parents.

Brough Smyth³ states that the rites of puberty among the Australians were always surrounded with great mystery, and that very probably, when the race was uncivilized, any one who revealed the secret would have been put to death. Today, these rites are in large part known to us, in view of the fact that many natives have come to live among us, while some of the tribes have become so gentle as to allow spectators at these solemnities. Smyth therewith describes the *tit-but* rite, to which, in Victoria, youths of the age of 14 or 15 years are subjected.

The one in charge of the *tit-but* is a married man, of power and influence in the tribe. He takes the youth and begins shaving off his hair with sharp quartz splinters, leaving only a strip a quarter of an inch wide from neck to forehead. The shaven part of the head is covered with clay. The youth is clad in a weird arrangement of opossum skins, the greater part of his body being left nude. He is daubed with chalk, mud, coal-dust and other unclean substances. Inasmuch as this is kept up during most of the winter, the neophyte all this time is not able to clothe himself.

Thus prepared, the candidate goes wandering through the encampment with a basket under his arm, picking up all sorts of filthy objects and shouting all the while, "*Tib bo-bo-bo-but!*" No one speaks to him or molests him; all seem to fear him. No sooner does he see some one emerging from a hut than he at once casts upon him the filth which he carries in his basket; but in order to pay this compliment, he may not enter any of the dwellings, nor may he cast his ordure upon a woman going for water.

After a number of days, the number varying according to circumstances known only to the elders, and when his shaven hair shall have begun to grow again, he is given over to the women, who bathe him, streak his face with black paint, and dance in front of him. From this moment, he

³ Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, etc., London, 1878, Vol. I., pp. 58ff.

becomes a man, and may go to a neighboring tribe, carry off a girl and make her his wife.

Such was the rite as viewed by Thomas; but Smyth believes it to be in use only among the coast tribes. In other parts of the colony, the ceremony is different.

The youth, having attained puberty, is conducted by three chiefs of the tribe into the interior of a forest, where he remains for the space of two days and a night. With a piece of wood shaped for the purpose, he gouges out the two middle incisors of the upper jaw, and returning to the camp, he presents these to his own mother; then he goes for a second time to the forest, remaining for two nights and a day. In the meanwhile, the mother hides her son's two teeth in the tallest branches of a eucalyptus tree. This tree acquires from then on a character of sanctity, but it is known only to a few individuals of the tribe, and never to the neophyte; if the latter should die, the tree, flayed and burnt at its roots, is left standing as a shrivelled monument to the deceased.

More singular yet is the pubic consecration ceremony for Australian girls of Victoria, known as *Mur-rum Tur-uk-ur-uk*. When the girl is 12 or 13 years of age, two fires are kindled at a distance of a hundred yards from the village. The fires can only be made of bark, and each is tended by an old woman who sits in silence before it. Then the girl is brought in from the hut of her female friends, and is covered with coal-dust and painted with great white splotches. When this has been done, she is placed upon a mound, and into her right hand they put a bough which has been despoiled of its leaves, and which bears, instead, upon its branches certain small pellets of a farinaceous food. Thereupon, a few youths, possibly a score of them, approach the maiden, each casting at her feet a small staff as he takes in his mouth one of the pellets deposited upon the branches, following which, they all spit into the fire and, falling back, begin stamping their feet, leaping and dancing, as if engaged in a *corroboree*.

As soon as the youths have gone through the performance required of them, the old women watching the fires draw

near the maidens, gather up the pieces of wood which have been cast down by the young men, and, making a deep trench, bury them. This is to prevent sorcerers from laying hold of the girl's kidney fat. When the bits of buried wood shall have crumbled to dust, the young woman may feel free of the influence of wizards and evil spirits.

Having buried the wood, the old women ask the girl for the bough which up to now she has held in her hand; taking it, they burn it in the fire, the two blazes having been raked into one. The lass' mother then comes to remove her from the pedestal and lead her to her father's hut. In the course of the following night, there is a great *corrobboree*, which is directed by the father, and in which the foremost participants are those young men who have completed the rite. It is understood that these youths are not permitted to attack her, but must protect her, until such time as she takes a husband.

The initiation of the young men into virility is known as *Narra-mang* (youth factory), among the Murrumbidgee, Murray, Owens and Goulburn tribes. The young candidate is conducted to a distant part of the inhabited region, and during the night, the *coradje* (priests and medicine men), painted and adorned with feathers, begin their ceremonies. There are exorcisms and magic spells, after which there comes the extraction of the two middle upper incisors, with a piece of wood sharpened like a chisel, or with a *toma-wahtz*. Following this operation, the neophyte is hidden in a species of hut constructed of branches so interwoven as not to admit of the passage of light; about this, the women sing and dance, a lighted torch in their hands. For a month, the youth may see none but the *coradje*; if he were to see a woman, he would die. After that, they may eat the flesh of the black swan, of the musk-duck, and of the emu.

Smyth gives us a verse of the women's *Narra-mang* song, which runs like this:

*Now, you are sick;
But soon, your beard shall grow;
And on the magic flesh of the musk-duck,
You shall feed with the men.*

A. W. Howitt of Bairnsdale in Gippsland communicated to Smyth certain information concerning another form of youth initiation, known as *Jerryale*, a name also borne by the participants in the ceremony. The *Jerryale* sit down upon the ground, and behind each of them is a maiden in the same position, who is called a *growun*. When there are more *Jerryale* than there are *growun*, one girl takes her place between two young men, to wait upon them both. The men of the tribe, drawn up in a row behind these couples, at a given signal advance and beat the ground with clubs, crying, "*Ai-ee-ee-ee-ei*," at each cry striking the earth in such a manner as to knock it up in the faces of the neophytes. The men upon this occasion, in place of the customary bone through the nose, have a stalk of grass, and the skin about their eyes is dyed with coal-dust.

This ceremony is repeated every evening, from four in the afternoon until ten at night, for two weeks, the place being so changed as to alternate from tribe to tribe. Besides the cry of *Ai-ee-ee-ee-ei*, there is another: *bu-ee-bu-ee-bu-ee*, a collection of sounds the meaning of which is not known. During all this while, the mothers of the young men repair to the field where the latter are to beat upon dried opossum skins, as their sons sit upon the ground before them in an unbroken silence.

There follows then yet another ceremony. The nude *Jerryale* take their places in a row, and behind them stand the nude maidens, nude, that is to say, save for a petticoat of emu feathers and a rope garland on their heads. The maidens hold upright in their hands a stick with boughs bound to either end. The men of the tribe come next, with a bundle of wooden splinters a foot long in each hand; and they sing as they go, "*Oo-oo-oo-oo-ya-yay-yay-yay*," etc. As they come near the maidens, they toss the latter, one by one, the splinters; the maidens gather them up, beating one bundle against the other, singing the same song the young men do.

Then, the men come forward. Each of the *Jerryale* has a companion, a sort of sponsor, known as a *bullera-wreng*, who is in charge of him. Two of the sponsors present take the

neophyte by the haunches and hurl him into the air, as high as they can; and as they do so, they shout the syllable *nurt*.

I shall not weary the reader by continuing with the description of this rite, which is not at all cruel in character, but which rather consists of a series of postures, songs, and other prescribed features that impress us as being solemnly child-like, but possibly only because we are unaware of their signification. The one who would know more about them is referred to the work of Smyth.⁴

John Green, of Coranderck, in the upper Yarre, speaks of the initiation of the youth of both sexes. When a boy is 13 years old, he is carried far from the encampment by some of the old men of the tribe, and in the place to which they take him, they perform a *mi-mi*; he remains there for a month, during which time, he is instructed in all the legends of his race; and one of the youth's upper incisors is also taken out, being first loosened from the gum by means of a sharp-pointed bone, and then broken off with a kind of wooden chisel. There comes, then, the clothing with opossum skin; and upon returning home, the neophyte becomes a *wanggoom*.

When he has reached the age of 18, he is taken off a second time by the old men and painted like a warrior; when dawn comes, an elder shakes him, tells him to dress himself, and says to him, "You are now a *geebowak*." The young man now may go naked and take a wife. He leaves the camp and goes to search for food for the elders; as he returns, all flee, pretending to be ashamed at his nudity; but he seeks them out and gives them food to eat.

Where it is a girl reaching puberty who is concerned, she is carried off by a number of old women, who bind various parts of her body with ropes, in such a way as to cause her to swell up and suffer terribly. She is then bathed, the knots are slackened, she is covered with emu feathers, and goes back home a *ngarrindarakock*, that is, a marriageable maid.

Green adds that, at certain times, the women must retire to a distance from the encampment, must not go where men

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

go, must not cross water nor touch wood nor any other object that a man touches; and after having bathed their bodies with water, they return home.

The Reverend Bulmer of Lake Tyers in Gippsland asserts that no youth is admitted to a place among the men, or may enjoy any of the privileges of virility, until he has undergone an initiation. Some of the tribes of Murray pull out the upper incisors; others shave off the hair or the beard of the chin. Certain tortures are invariably inflicted, to bring out the youth's valor and courage; and other things are done which cannot be set down here.

The ceremonies employed by the Narrinyesi, according to the Reverend Taplin, are as follows:

When the youth's beard has grown to a certain length, he is made a *narumbe*, *kaingani*, or young man. A number of members of various tribes are called upon to take part in the ceremony. Ordinarily, the rite is performed upon two youths at once. They are violently seized during the night. The women endeavor to fight off the abductors, by hurling firebrands at them, but without avail. The neophytes are borne away. Tufts of their hair and beard are torn out with the point of a lance, and they are then bathed from head to foot with a mixture of oil and red ochre. For three days and three nights, the *kaingani* may neither eat nor sleep. They may drink; but the water must be sucked through a reed; for many months, they are not permitted to drink from a cup.

When the three days are past they may sleep, but may rest their heads only upon two pieces of wood fitted into the ground to form a cross. For six months, they must go naked, with merely the hint of a vestment about their loins. They cease to be *narumbe* only after their beard has thrice been plucked out; each time, it must be allowed to grow again until it is two inches long. In all this time, they must not eat of women's food, and there are twenty different kinds of game-flesh from which they must abstain. Everything that they touch becomes *narumbe*, and may not be touched by the hand of woman. They may not take a wife, but may

freely make love to the youngest women of the tribe. Any violation of these provisions is punished with death.

Carlo Wilhelmi, in his account of the customs of the natives of Port Lincoln, speaks of secret rites with which only adults are familiar and which transform a boy into a man. It appears that the initiation consists of three stages, and that the youth is called by the name of the last stage through which he has passed.

The boys enter the first stage at the age of 14 or 15 years; but little is known of the attendant ceremonies. These are performed secretly, and boys and women may not take part in them. It is known that the neophytes' eyes are blindfolded, that certain strange words are uttered, that there is music, and that the boys are then allowed to go free. Two or three months afterward, the novice must paint his face black, and must cease speaking save in a whisper. A few years later, the youth enters the second stage, and is called *pardanapas*; it is at this time that he is subjected to circumcision.

The final and most important ceremony takes place between the ages of 18 and 20, after which the youths are known as *Wilyalkinyes*. That it may be carried out according to rule, certain sponsors or *indanyanas* are designated, to see to it that all the rites are observed. The youth is taken by force and borne off by the sponsor whom he himself has selected. He must seat himself upon the hem of his garment; and the sponsor then cries out, *Nolo episcopari*, being unworthy of the honor that is done him. The novice insists, and the sponsor ends by accepting. When each has his sponsor, the novices' eyes are bandaged, and the women are brought out of their huts. They shout, weep, and pretend to be in the throes of a great grief.

Meanwhile, the youths are borne to a distance from the encampment. The sponsors range themselves in a circle, each having his novice opposite him, and closing the latter's eyes with his hands. The neophytes keep their eyes closed for an hour and more, while their sponsors emit from time to time prolonged and mournful wails, which sound something like: *je e-ch*. The youths are now secretly transported

to a place still further removed and are stretched out upon the ground and swathed in coverings. When an hour has passed, thongs are fashioned out of three branches, to the accompaniment of much shouting; but the important thing is, many wounds are inflicted upon the young men with bits of quartz-crystal, and each of them receives the name which is to be his throughout life. These names are generally formed by the addition of an *-alta*, *-ilti*, or *-ulta* to the stem of a verb.

At this point, certain of the men open a vein in their forearms, and the youths must suck the first drops of blood which come from the open vein. They must then kneel, placing their hands upon the ground and keeping their backs in a horizontal position. Upon each one's back, drops of blood are let fall and left to coagulate. Then one of the men with his thumb designates those places on the skin which are to be peeled; they are the middle of the neck, the shoulders and the loins. The incisions must be about an inch in length, are called *manka*, and are looked upon as a mark of great respect, not to be spoken of in the presence of boys or women. Other incisions, such as those made upon the breast and arms in infancy, are purely ornamental, and have no sacramental significance.

The wounds thus inflicted prove to be very painful, inasmuch as it is necessary to renew the cut, or better, the laceration, a number of times with pieces of quartz-crystal, in order to assure its being deep enough to form a beautiful scar. During the operation, a throng of men is gathered about the youths, all shouting:

*Kannaka kanya, marra marra,
Karndo kanya, marra marra,
Pilberri kanya, marra, marra.*

Words without meaning, or whose meaning is unknown. When the cruel operation is over, the youths rise and are permitted to open their eyes. What they behold is two men stamping their feet, gnawing at their beards, and rushing

upon them violently, waving the *witarna*.⁵ But this is a threat, not an attack. When the young men have gone through these tests, they may wear those ornaments which distinguish the male, not least of which is the loin-cloth of human hair about the middle.

Last of all, these neophytes are given moral counsels, including the advice to avoid disputes, not to indulge in loud-mouthed chattering, and not to touch women. This they must do for four or five months; after which period, the opossum skin which they have been wearing about their necks is removed, their bodies are sprinkled with blood, and the rite is completed.

Collins tells us that, between the ages of 8 and 16 years, males and females must undergo the *gna-noong*, or perforation of the nasal septum, in order that a reed or bone may be passed through it. It is during this period that an incisor is taken from the males. Collins⁶ describes and illustrates with plates this mutilation, which is accompanied by warrior scenes and singular and complicated rites.

Along the Macleay and Nambucco Rivers, the ceremony of virile initiation is different from any that has been described here thus far.⁷

In this district, the teeth are not drawn. Guests are widely invited, from among the men of the neighboring tribes, and all gather upon the summit of a hill, where all the trees are tattooed and laboriously and sculpturesquely carved. The women must remain at a distance of not less than two miles; and the one who, out of curiosity, would break this rule has the punishment of death meted out to her.

The first evening, they dance the usual *corrobboree*. The young men are taken and held head downward toward the fire, after which the opossum-skin band is placed about their

⁵ The *witarna* is a piece of wood 11 inches long and 4 inches wide, which is attached to the end of a long rope, and which the natives whirl about their heads, producing a peculiar vibratory sound. It is kept jealously hidden from the boys and women; and when the latter hear its whirring from a distance, the thought at once occurs to them that the men must be intent upon some secret ceremony, and that they must be careful to keep out of the way.

⁶ *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, 1804, pp. 365-374

⁷ Hodgkinson, *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*.

necks. The exposure to fire is repeated; and each time, the youth is presented with a fresh emblem of virility, now the *nulla-nulla*, now the boomerang, now the lance. In conclusion, there are mock battles and mock hunts. The ceremonies, which Hodgkinson was able to view only in part and from a distance, lasted fifteen days and were terminated with a special dance, in which the youths took part, and which the women might witness. For this dance, they paint their whole bodies with white designs, while their hair is adorned with white cockatoo feathers.⁸

A. W. Howitt has published a very accurate study of the initiation ceremonies in use among the Wolgal, Ngarego, Theddora, Wiraijuri, and seaboard Murring tribes of south-eastern Australia, forming one natural group, with analogous customs. It is interesting to observe how complicated is the ceremonial formula in vogue among peoples possessed of so little intelligence.

In general, it is men of the same *exogamic* name who initiate the youth of another name; and the fact that they have gone through the same form of initiation constitutes a sort of relationship between the initiates, or at least, groups the men into a species of community.

The initiative in the matter of the ceremony is taken by one of the more influential among the men, who may either act upon his own judgment, or follow the advice of the Great Council, composed of warriors, orators, sorcerers, totem heads, etc. When there is a sufficient number of candidates, the head man dispatches a messenger to announce the ceremony. This messenger bears with him as emblem of his mission an entire masculine outfit of clothing and the sacred musical instrument, which he carries wrapped in an animal-hide, since it is to be kept concealed from the eyes of women and children.

The setting for the ceremony is then prepared. The rite may be a full and solemn one (*Bunan*), or it may be given in abbreviated form (*Kadjawalung*), the former lasting

⁸ Wood has likewise given a summary account of the various modes of virile consecration among the Australian tribes. *The Natural History of Man*, etc., London, 1870, pp. 75ff.

from three to four days, while the latter is enacted in two or three days. The ground having been levelled off in circular form, as if for a threshing-floor, the youths are placed in front of great fires, by way of testing their resistance to pain. Each novice holds out in front of him the yamstick belonging to his mother, from which dangle the virility band and other objects with which the candidates are to be invested. Upon this circular threshing-floor, a number of preliminary dances are performed, at which the presence of women and children is permitted. A footpath leads from this circular terrain to the small *Bunan*, where the extracting of the tooth takes place. The women go away, before the neophytes' profession is made along this path.

The reader who would have all the curious details of these ceremonies is referred to the original writings of Howitt.⁹ We shall limit ourselves here to a few of the principal features.

As the neophytes' procession gets under way, each *kabo*, or godfather, admonishes his ward as to what is expected of him:

- 1) He is not to gaze about him, but is to walk forward with his eyes constantly fixed upon the ground, unless his guardian tells him to look at something;

- 2) He is not to laugh, nor give the least sign of having perceived anything that meets his gaze, or anything that is done to him;

- 3) On the other hand, he is to pay the greatest attention to all that is said to him.

He is finally informed that, whenever he disobeys any of these injunctions, he will be beaten, if not killed, through the magic powers of the elders present.

What goes to confer a religious character upon the ceremony is the fact that words which are not those of every day speech are employed. The grave and solemn procession forms in a secluded spot several miles distant from the point of departure. There are numerous halts; and at each one of these, other ceremonies are performed, the purpose

⁹ A. W. Howitt, "On Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, May, 1884, p 432.

of which is to divert, to instruct, or to inspire fear. Hunting scenes are also staged, each of these performances being accompanied by dancing, etc. It is in these halts that the young men have an opportunity to become acquainted for the first time with the sorcerers' magic abilities, of which they have heard tell so many times in the course of their childhood.

The magic field is the designated place for the ceremony of extracting the tooth. A beginning is made by lighting a magic fire, as the neophytes take their places upon a couch of branches, drawing over them their clothing or other coverings. Here once more are songs, dancing, mimic representations, and magic dramas. When the men show signs of growing tired, and of being more disposed to sleep than to continue with their labors of dance and pantomime, there is heard in the forest the bellowing of the *mudji*; and the sound of this sacred instrument rekindles the ardor of the neophytes, and of their guardians and companions.

The initiation consists in the extraction of two middle upper incisors, or of the left middle one alone. This is accompanied by cries imitative of thunder, magic dances and elaborate scenic preparations, whose object is to strike terror. The extraction of the teeth is accomplished with a wooden chisel and a mallet of the same material. Teeth are also made use of against teeth, the operator applying his own incisors to those of the neophyte. Many extremely painful attempts are frequently made before the operation is completed, Howitt speaking of as many as thirteen efforts. When the teeth are firmly resistant, requiring a great use of the hammer and chisel, it is said that the youth has been trifling too much with the girls and women.

Once the teeth are out, an attempt is made to console the victims, by telling them that all is over, and that all they have to do now is to be careful not to spit out the blood which pours into their mouths from the gums. Having been conducted to the magic fire, they are invested with the loin-cloth, jerkin and other signs of virility.

More mimic representations follow, in which, mingled with ridiculous buffooneries, true moral admonitions are to

be found. The moral, however, is imparted in a very singular way. Scenes are put on exemplifying a lack of respect to elders, or such a vice as pederasty or masturbation; and the neophyte is then told: "This is what you are not to do; if you do it, you will be killed."

Throughout this long round of ceremonies, the elders keep putting out their hands rhythmically toward the neophytes, as if they meant to hypnotize them; this signifies that they are causing to pass into the youths the beneficent influence of the god Daramulun, who has instituted these ceremonies *ab eterno*, and who in spirit takes part in the initiation. There is, in truth, in these rites an actual adoration of this god, who is represented by a human statue of mud in the act of dancing. In the presence of this idol, the elders give the neophytes a lesson in theology. Following is a definition of Daramulun, which is not vastly different from the one which the Christian gives of his God:

"He is the master (Biamban), who can go anywhere and do anything?"

There is a return procession, with a bath and other endless ritual.

The novitiate lasts for some time yet, during which the neophyte must abstain from certain food, and must be constantly instructed by the elders of the tribe. It is not until some while later that the neophyte is admitted to the assemblies, where he must still be silent and listen. It is only then that he may take a wife.

The extracted teeth are preserved by a tribal head or an elder, and are later turned over to the neophyte's father, and finally to the neophyte himself.

Among the Alfuru of Ceram, the youth marks his puberty by putting on the *dijdako* for the first time, and his father at the same time changes his name, that is, he adds to his own name that of his son, and so with the virility of each succeeding son, and the longer his name the higher the consideration in which he is held.

The woman is more esteemed and cherished than Moham-medan women are; she is never beaten. Although she wears little clothing, she is chaste and modest. Her husband has

the right to be polygamous, but is invariably monogamous. Marriage is accomplished by paying the bride's parents a price, or by the groom's selling himself as a laborer to the parents-in-law.

The Maori of New Zealand have no special rites for the consecration of virility; but tattooing, which is almost wholly reserved for men, is a visible if informal sign of recognition of the difference in sexes. The women are tattooed only on the lips, which they are in the habit of smearing with red.

It would seem that in certain regions of California, the young girl, upon reaching the age of puberty, is buried under ground and is beaten with sticks.¹⁰

The appearance of puberty in girls was observed with special festivals among the Chibchas of Central America.

Waitz informs us that, at Cape Palmas, among the Mandingos of Sierra Leone, among the Fanti and in Akru, the girls upon reaching puberty are festively adorned and led in procession, as if to draw attention to the fact that they are of marriageable age. And he adds that among the Veis, puberty in both sexes is consecrated with an imposing religious ceremonial, and that any one who reveals to a person of the opposite sex the accompanying rites is punished with death.¹¹

¹⁰ *Schoolcraft*, V., 215

¹¹ See Note A, in *Notes and Additions*.

II

MODESTY AND CHASTITY IN THE RACES OF MAN

Varieties of Modesty—Nudity Not a Criterion—Examples—Polynesian Women Perform in Public—False Modesty of Western Women—Padre Salvado's Experiences—Should Men Be More Modest Than Women?—An Excursion Through the Realms of Modesty—Loango—Japan—Equatorial Africa—Central Africa—India—Malthusian Libertinage—Customs of Modesty Among Various Peoples—Hypocrisy Versus Chastity—Secret Parisian Orgies—A Lesbian Contest—A Gold Coast Festival—Genital Symbols.

IN my *Physiology of Love*, I have devoted an entire chapter to the psychology of modesty,¹ promising at the same time to give an ethnic-historical account of it. This account will have to be given in bold outlines, inasmuch as describing all the various forms of modesty and the diversified demands it makes would be equivalent to giving in its entirety the psychology of the human race; there are, perhaps, not two peoples on the earth, nor even two individuals, who experience this complex emotion in the same way and give expression to it in the same way, since interwoven in it are so many varied sensuous, sentimental, and intellectual elements.

The statement hardly may be made, in any absolute and unqualified manner, that modesty is wholly lacking among any peoples. Even the Tasmanian women, though nude, when seated on the ground in the presence of others, are in the habit of covering with the heel the temple of Venus; and it is altogether likely that even those Polynesian natives, who were seen by certain travelers sacrificing in public to the god

¹ *Physiology of Love*, Chapter V.

of love, would have refused to make certain concessions which would readily have been granted in the privacy of the hut or in the silence of the jungle.

In my *Physiology of Love*, I have suggested a division of peoples into immodest, semi-modest and modest, being desirous of indicating in a very crude way an ascending scale of modesty, from zero to an indeterminate degree of exigencies. The New Caledonian woman, raising the small fringe which covered her genitals to show French sailors the gate of love, inviting them to enter there, may be taken as marking the zero in modesty; while we must assign a 100 or 1,000 degrees to the lady who, in despair at having no offspring, prefers to die sterile rather than submit to an examination with the speculum.

We make use almost always of a crude criterion, and often a false one as well, in judging the degree of modesty of a race, holding it to be less modest the less clothing it wears; whereas peoples are to be seen who go nude, or all but nude, who are possessed of a most emphatic sense of modesty; while we all of us, on the other hand, know men and women lacking in no portion of the complicated European attire who are, by instinct, vice or habit, utterly immodest. No one, it may be, has, without being aware of it, written more truly on modesty in its relation to costume than has Padre Salvado, in his well known account of his travels in Australia:

"The savages, in winter time, on account of the cold, barely keep their shoulders covered with a kangaroo skin; but in summer time, and it was summer at the time of which I am speaking, they do not cover themselves at all, this utter nudity producing, in their degraded condition, no immodest effects; and so, the men and women alike would frequently appear in our presence, without suspecting that they were doing anything at all improper or giving any occasion for scandal. In order to begin the work of civilizing them, of lifting them out of their wretched state, we decided to make a rule that whoever came to the monastery, for soup or for any other similar reason, or to work in the fields, must be covered with a cloak of kangaroo skin. The reason for

this rule, however, was not communicated to any of them, in order that we might avoid instilling in them evil thoughts. Yet for all of this, despite the fact that this unfortunate people had no idea of shame, for a/ the thousands of times that I have slept among them or traveled in their company, I have yet to observe any disrespectable or improper action on their part! The case is quite different with those savages who frequent the cities and districts where Europeans dwell!

"The order that we gave was carried out by all. But once, as it happened, two women quite nude came to receive their portion of soup. When we refused them the soup because they were unclothed, they immediately ran to their sleeping-quarters, snatched up a couple of cloaks, and, throwing them over their left shoulders, appeared before us a second time with the same request. Although they were as naked as before, we felt that they had sufficiently carried out our instructions. From this action on their part, *we could tell that there was no viciousness in them*, and so, we gave them the asked for portion. These women, who were not of the region, thereafter imitated the others, and clothed themselves as had been prescribed." ²

If modesty were born of the need to cover the genitals and protect them from external injury, there are many reasons why men should be more modest than women, who have a genital region of less extent to conceal, and one that is naturally protected, to begin with. On the contrary, it is an almost universal law that women cover their genitals more than do men.³

In the Hermitage Islands, men and women go naked down to the pudenda; it is only *pro forma* that the men cover their genitals with strips of bark, ill adapted to the purpose and easily dislodged; the women, however, cover their private parts thoroughly, with an apron of leaves.⁴

It is nevertheless indubitable that clothing in its various forms frequently answers to the needs of modesty in its

² Salvado, *Memorie storiche dell' Australia*, etc., Rome, 1851, p. 220.

³ See Note B, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁴ Strauch, "Allgemeine Bemerkungen ethnologischen Inhalts über Neu-Guinea," etc., *Zeitschrift für Eth.*, Berlin, 1877, p. 35.

ethnic manifestations. I propose here to make a brief excursion through the realms of modesty, showing the reader how the fig-leaf is now broadened, now elongated, and now disappears altogether. If not the whole, at any rate a good part of the history of ethnic modesty is written in these facts.

The Negroes of Loango are extremely modest, and their women, upon meeting with Europeans, cover their breasts, falling into the attitude of the Venus de Medici. When they take a bath, they warn the men with shouts not to come near them. An identical trait is to be found in a cold country of another hemisphere, among the Tehuelche (South American) women.

I myself, coming down from Nilghiri to Metapollium in southern India, saw girls covering their lovely breasts with a mantle, that I might not have a glimpse of them, which was something they did not do upon meeting a man of their own race.⁵ A Balonda queen appeared before Livingstone wholly nude, although her body was painted red and she wore ornaments about her neck. The other women of her race also go quite naked; and if they look for any European trappings, it is that they wish to adorn, and not to clothe, themselves. The men, however, are a little more clothed, and wear a band of jackal-hide about the loins as a covering before and behind.

The Wa-chaga, of East and Equatorial Africa, are unacquainted with modesty; they are rarely clothed, and only as a protection against cold. Livingstone, who has been mentioned just above, speaks of having with him a number of Makololos, whose garb, like that of many other African tribes, consists of no more than a piece of animal-hide, attached to the girdle and passed between the thighs. Yet the Balonda women laugh at the indecency of the Makalolos, although one of the latter could provide sufficient material from the clothing he wears to garb three or four of the former after their fashion.

The Bubé tribesmen of the Fernando Po region go completely naked; but the men wear hats to protect their heads

⁵ See Note C, in *Notes and Additions*.

against tree serpents. To ask them to don clothing is to demand of them a sacrifice greater than they can bear. Capt. Burton was not able to persuade them to do so, at an altitude of 10,000 feet, where even they found the warmth of a fire very comforting. It is said, however, that this custom of absolute nudity with them is due to a vow which they have made, to the effect that they will not wear clothing until they shall have utterly exterminated their M'Pongwe enemies.

The Japanese wear clothing, but are immodest; ^{5a} their women bathe in the nude in the middle of the street, and indulge in certain candid disportings by way of assuring themselves of the size of the passer-by's genital organs. Among their children's toys are jack-in-the-boxes, from which pop forth erect, pink-tinted phalluses.

The women of Musgo, in Central Africa, scrupulously cover their buttocks, leaving uncovered the entire anterior portion of the body. This restriction of modesty to a single portion of the body reminds one of those Egyptian and Arab women, who, surprised by Europeans with their faces uncovered, toss their petticoats over their heads, leaving everything else visible.

Among the Nueir of Africa, the men are completely nude, while the girls wear but a small grass apron and the women a mere vestige of a loincloth. With the members of the Dinka tribe, the women alone are garbed, clothing being looked upon as unworthy of a man. They are in the habit of calling the Nubians "women" for the reason that the latter have garments, and Schweinfurth was contemptuously referred to by them as "the Turkish woman." In the Bongo tribe, males and females are scantily clad; and the women each morning repair to a neighboring grove to gather a handful of leaves and a tuft of grass, which constitute their attire for the day. Yet even among a people so little clothed as this, infants as soon as they are weaned may no longer sleep in the same hut as their parents, the larger ones having

^{5a} "Modesty" is a matter of geography. Japanese visiting Europe and America are frequently shocked at Occidental immodesty.—Editor's note.

a special dwelling, but coming to join the family at meal-time.⁶

The Mombutto women go practically nude, wearing in the front only a handful of banana leaves or a bit of tree bark no bigger than the hand. They are, moreover, very indecent. The Ivilis women of equatorial Africa, upon being requested by Compiègne to present him with the bits of very finely woven red-striped matting with which they girdled their hips, removed that article of apparel with the utmost indifference, being eager to have in exchange for it a mirror or a few imitation pearls.

The Baguirmi Negro tribes in Central Africa cover themselves only with a small skin apron, which they usually wear in the rear, finding the closing of the thighs to be a sufficient mode of concealing the genitals. The women wear nothing but a large rope about the waist, from which they dangle a few leaves, plucked each day, in front and behind. Sometimes, however, they wear an interwoven leather girdle not more than two inches wide, from which are strung long fringes of animal-skin, with shells and pearls. A few Kaffir tribes wear but a very small apron; but the smaller it is, the more self-conscious they seem to be, at its joggings.⁷

The Baendas Pezis go absolutely naked, and told Livingstone that the reason they did so was that their god had made them that way. Livingstone proceeded to clothe a couple of ten-year-old girls, and they at once became modest (?). After a fortnight, they would even cover their breasts in crossing their own bedrooms.

The Ashira women of Africa wear garments only when they are married, and the light sash they then wear is an ornament rather than an article of clothing.

Strauch noted that the natives of the Hermitage Islands covered only the genitals. The men made use of bark strips, fashioned into a rude loin-cloth. They took no care, however, to keep the covering applied to that which was to be covered, and so, may be said to have worn the fragment of attire merely *pro forma*. The women were better covered,

⁶ See Note D, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁷ See Note E, in *Notes and Additions*.

with a sort of leaf and tree-bark apron. They offered themselves without discrimination to foreign-comers.

The African Quissamas are wholly nude.⁸

In the Pelew Islands, no garments are worn; and it was with amazement that the natives fingered the first European clothing with which they came into contact, believing it was the wearers' skin, while the blue veins on the latter's hands and faces they took to be a form of tattooing. They were none the less modest for their nudity, and men and women had separate bathing places. If a man chanced to pass a spot where women were bathing, he must first announce his approach by shouting, and if he was answered by a woman's cry, he must at once turn back and go another way.

The Garo tribesmen of India wear none too much, but the women are extremely modest; and the young men, when they have reached a certain age, before they are permitted to marry, must live apart from the women and take their meals in specially built huts.⁹ In New Britain, men and women do not cover the genitals. In the Hermitage Islands, men and women go almost naked; the men wear a strip of bark over the genitals, without greatly caring whether those organs are covered or not; the women, on the other hand, cover the pudenda completely, with a leaf apron. In New Hanover, women above and below the age of puberty are to be seen without the modesty apron. A special girdle, however, is employed to distinguish married women from widows. The men often hold the scrotum in the left hand, the penis being grasped between the thumb and index-finger.

In the neighborhood of McClure Bay, in New Guinea, the women were kept hidden, and the natives displayed a high degree of suspiciousness, when the Europeans approached the houses where the women were. At Mauat, in the same island, the women are clad and the men are not. When Wyatt Gill reproved some of the tribal chiefs for going nude,

⁸ See Note F, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁹ Godwin Auston, "On the Stone Monuments of the Khas Hill Tribes," etc. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1871, p. 123.

the latter grew angry with him. "*Would you have us like the women? Clothing is for women folk!*"

In the Andaman Islands, the women cover the pudenda with leaves, which they change for fresh ones, when the heat of the body has withered them. The men as well wear pandanus leaves, but frequently forget them and leave them at home. Many of the Amazon tribes are quite nude. Infants among the Tehuelches do not go naked until they reach the age of seven or eight years; and even when their parents put on them their first little shoes, made of skin from the llama's front paws, they protest against it, take their slippers off, and go barefoot through the snow.

Upon my own voyage to Paraguay, I saw naked children of both sexes in the streets of the capital; and in one village I saw a girl who had attained the age of puberty, who was as naked as Eve and as unashamed, as she proffered a light for my companion's cigar.

Labillardière describes the use which the natives of the Admiralty Islands make of the *Bulla ovum*, which they pierce to provide a covering for the glans penis. They were ashamed, when they took it off to sell it; and if they happened to be wearing a girdle, they retired to one side to cover up the genitals, deprived of their shell concealment. The pressure exerted by the conch on the upper part of the prepuce often gives rise to a tumor.¹⁰

A beautiful young woman of the Friendly Islands was in the habit of saying, "*Tabou mitzimitzi*" ("love-making is forbidden"); by which she implied that it was her duty to remain faithful to her husband.¹¹ It was none the less in the Friendly Islands that girls came to the brothel and gave themselves to sailors, remarking as they left, "*Bongui mitzi mitzi*," that is to say, "We have made love, and we shall do the same tomorrow."

Labillardière saw two New Caledonian girls, the elder about 18, showing sailors their genitals, which they custo-

¹⁰ See Note G, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹¹ Many travelers assure us that they have seen the natives of the Marianne and Caroline Islands indulging publicly in the love rite.

marily keep covered with a fringe, and offering themselves for the price of a nail, or some object of like value—but they insisted upon being paid first!

Just as modesty varies in mankind, so does every race have a diverse concept of the moral significance of coitus. It is, of course, upon this that the family structure in its various forms depends, as will be seen later on. At this point, I shall merely take the liberty of calling attention to the demarcations of modesty, the transition from a modesty of vestment to one that is directly concerned with the genitals, the sentiment in question thus serving in a manner as a measuring-stick for the moral attitude of different peoples with respect to love.

Upon the lowest rungs of the social ladder, the woman of public age is desired by the male, just as the male is an object of desire to the female of the species. Bodily nakedness, and the frequent opportunities offered, thus tend to render the sexual embrace irresistible; and a young girl's love affairs are looked upon as a natural and not a blameworthy act. For she has not been bought, she has not given a vow of fidelity to any one, and accordingly, she is not the property of a single man, but may freely make the most of her youth, granting her embrace to whomsoever she pleases. From this is derived the general formula which may be applied to a large portion of the inferior races of mankind. *Free love for girls; a love that is more or less reserved for a single man after matrimony.*

Free love among girls, being unshrouded in reticence, is naturally subject to the consequences of fecundation; but the privilege is accorded with the provision that pregnancy is not to ensue. Such is the case among the Kaffir tribes, where we have already seen what genital orgies customarily greet the appearance of puberty. The girl, then, may enjoy herself and bestow enjoyment, but she must see to it that she has no children as a result of it; otherwise, the careless or bungling male will have to marry her. The usual method of assuring immunity is by coitus *in ore vulvae*.

This variety of Malthusian libertinage is a very common thing in our own country; and many young girls go to the

altar and swear eternal fidelity to a single man only after they have had a thorough schooling with their lovers in all the forms of lasciviousness. I know one province in Italy where the girls often meet men by night and let themselves be possessed in a way that is the next thing to coitus, being careful of one thing only, to see to it that they remain virgins, or at least, that they do not become pregnant.

In the libertinage of peoples, whatever the mode it may take, the conception surrounding the sexual embrace plays a very large part. Where the sexual act is looked upon as nothing other than the satisfaction of a natural need, men and women indulge in it with full freedom and without any remorse; but when all the barriers of modesty, social and religious laws and public opinion must first be scaled, before the temple may be reached, the embrace then becomes a serious, difficult and highly complicated matter, and a love that is sacred must be frittered away along the lubricious paths of masturbation or prostitution.

The more love is simplified, and reduced to a simple mating of two persons of opposite sex, the less occasion is there for jealousy, and the less complicated need be the governing legislation. The more cloaked it is in modesty, hypocrisy, sophistries, reticence and abstruseness, the more sensitive and delicate a mechanism does it become, but at the same time, a more fragile one.

Read the two incidents that follow, and attempt to measure the breadth of the psychologic chasm that separates them.

We are in a village of Sardinia, and the master of the house with a hospitality that is proverbial has thrown open his dwelling to some travelers, who are seated at his groaning board. The women of the house do not sit at table, but, in a richly picturesque costume, wait upon the guests. One of them, the daughter, is young, beautiful and highly attractive; and her bosom, only partly held in by scarlet bands and golden clasps, rebels against this restraint and protrudes, restlessly and petulantly, in quest of a freer horizon. One of the guests is unable to resist this fascinating sight, and when a plate is passed him, caresses the hand that holds

it. This act, in itself innocent enough, is viewed by the father and other members of the family. Of those present, one turns pale, another crimson, and a sudden, impressive silence bespeaks the strength of the storm that is secretly brewing in the depths of their hearts. A scarcely perceptible sign is made for the women to leave; the meal goes on, but the food is served by waiting folk and scullions.

Taking, now, a far leap, we find ourselves in a land in which the master of the house requires his wife and daughters to wash the guest's feet, and to give him a massage from head to foot. Introduced to the governor, Timour-Beg, by a letter from the Khan of Sirpool, General Ferrier must permit his naked body to be so massaged by the soft, velvety hands of His Excellency's wife and daughters. At a certain point, however, he had to request these obliging ladies to desist and leave him alone.

This corresponds very much to the account given us by Marco Polo, who, at Ghendon, in Thibet, saw the master of the house betaking himself off, in order that the guest might freely enjoy the ladies' favors.

The poles of modesty, jealousy and libertinage are here far apart, indeed; but they may be separated by a greater distance yet. Among a certain polygamous people, a woman who unveils her face in the presence of a stranger may be punished with death; yet the stranger is admitted to the connubial couch, that she may honor him with her embracel

Between these extremes, there exists a concatenation of semi-modest reactions, embryo debaucheries, and vague reticences. Following are a few of the links in the chain.

The debauching of young girls in certain regions of Sumatra is severely punishable with fines.

Infidelity is rare among the Orang-Benua and is punishable with death.

Among the Battas of Sumatra, obscene conversation and indecent actions lay the offender liable to a heavy fine.

The Potowatomi (of North America) are very obscene in speech, but chaste in their actions.

Among the Colusci, adultery is punished with death; or else, the seducer is obliged to live with the woman seduced and to pay half the cost of her maintenance.

The Nutak women (North America), according to a number of travelers, were remarkable for their chastity.

Among the American Chinooks, the girls are very debauched, but the married women are chaste.

The Malagasy girls lead a very dissolute life before marriage, and are only held censurable when they give themselves to a slave.

In the Marianne and Philippine Islands, chastity was not required of girls, and the latter were spontaneously offered to Kotzebue and his men as companions for the night. The girls slept together in special huts.

In Polynesia, it was the custom for girls to lead as dissolute a life as could be imagined before marriage, the only disgrace attached being (as at Tonga) a too frequent change of lovers. The girls slept together in a single hut, where the young men might pay them visits. At Samoa, there was greater restraint, and the girls' beds were separated by wicker partitions. Down to 1840, in this island, syphilis did not exist, although the girls were permitted to make love with strangers, while being forbidden to do so with natives. The native women of Mauna gratuitously offered their bodies to La Perouse's crew, or were offered by their relatives. At Hawaii, too, Cook found shameless women. It would seem, however, that in all these instances, the women involved were of the lowest class, inasmuch as noblewomen and princesses were, contrastingly, exceedingly modest.

In Tahiti, it would seem, dissoluteness attained a peak, and the common topic of conversation between men and women was the sexual embrace. All travelers are agreed in asserting that the arrival of Europeans contributed greatly to the increase of immorality on the part of the native populations. Coitus was performed in public.

At Nakahiva, among the females who offered their favors

to strangers was a girl of eight years; and when the missionary, Harris, declined to accept, the women surreptitiously proceeded to make an investigation while he slept, to see if he was really a man. Both Bougainville and La Perouse speak of women who unclothed themselves in order to excite over-timid sailors.

The Tupies of Brazil demanded no restraint on the part of girls, but required that married women should be chaste.

Grijalva found in old Mexico, along the seacoast, women and girls who were very modest and chaste; but he tells us that, at Cempoallar and elsewhere, the natives offered their daughters to the invading Spaniards.

In Mexico, the seducer of a slave girl became the slave of her master, if the girl happened to die as a result of her pregnancy. Love before marriage was not punished by law, but was looked upon as a crime, especially in the upper classes; and if the girl became pregnant, her seducer had either to marry her or never see her again. Concubinage was concealed as something shameful, although it was sometimes but the screen to a legitimate marriage. Marrying without the parents' consent was always regarded as being disgraceful.

At Tlascala, those youths who were adepts in the service of the temple and who failed to marry upon reaching the age of twenty, were subjected to the humiliating penalty of being deprived of their beards and holy office.

Infidelity was once very rare among the natives of California.

In Nicaragua, the unfaithful wife was driven out, but was not slain. She might not remarry, but remained the mistress of her own chattels. If the wife fled from her husband, the latter ordinarily did not take her back. There were certain festivals, however, in which the people gave themselves over to all forms of obscenity; and even among young girls, chastity was not a strict requirement.

The Chibchas had public feastings, which were veritable orgies.

The natives of North America are celebrated for their lack of chastity. With a few exceptions (for example, the

Apaches), chastity is indeed almost unknown. At the most, the husband insists upon his wife's chastity, as a property right; but the woman before marriage may do what she likes. In certain tribes, she does the same after marriage as well, without the husband's being concerned in the matter.

The more aristocratic ladies in certain Isthmus of Panama tribes would look upon the refusal of any request as a low and plebeian action. The man as a general rule takes as many women as he is able to support. At Benin and in Dahomey, by way of contrast, a girl's seducer is constrained to marry her, and in Dahomey, he must pay in addition a specified sum to her parents.

At Loango, girls may not speak to men, save in the presence of their mother. Among the Edeeyahs of Fernando Po, the seduction of a girl is punished as a grave offense. Upon the Gold Coast, the seduced girl is sprinkled with mud and dust by her girl friends and women neighbors; and as a culmination to the abuses that are heaped upon her, she is dragged down and tossed into the sea. She does not die, however, but after having taken a bath, may return home without further molestation, where a priestess adorns her with magic chains and parrot feathers, in order that fortune may henceforth smile upon her. Her seducer must marry her, or at least pay her a certain sum. Parents customarily assure the bridegroom of their daughter's virginity; but in case this is not verified, the parents must restore all gifts received, along with the bride's purchase price. Should the husband slander the girl, if it can be proved that she was a virgin, he must pay for his calumny with a fine.

The Tiapys are among those who are not greatly concerned with chastity before marriage, but who do not care to be deceived.¹²

In this question of the comparative sexual morality of various peoples, there is, on the one hand, the element of measure or quantity, and on the other hand, that of form, which is the more important of the two. Two peoples equally libertine in inclination, who devote, that is to say, an equal

¹² See Note H. in *Notes and Additions*.

amount of energy to the satisfaction of their lascivious impulses, may either expend that energy in the secret of their homes, or may carry it into the public place, making a solemn ceremony of incontinence. More often than not, a people impress us as being chaste, for the sole reason that they are more hypocritical and more modest,—two qualities which are quite diverse in character, but which frequently go together in the shameless marriage bed.

Today, we no longer celebrate the feasts of Osiris, nor the bacchanal rites of old, neither do we indulge in Indian orgies in the first month of the springtime; but at Paris and in the other great capitals of Europe, in the silence of the night and within the walls of public or private houses, individuals give themselves to such lascivious practices as would baffle the most audacious pen. Among the historic documents in the case, it will suffice to adduce a single one. In a large city of Italy, some years ago, a contest was held, with a prize for the fortunate mortal who could render a woman the happiest by means of Lesbian love. The contest involved *efficacy, charm and variety of method*. There were all the trappings of a great and solemn ceremony, including oaths, and there was no lack of contestants. I happen to have known the winner, personally——

The feasts of Osiris among the Egyptians, the Dionysiac rites among the Greeks, could not have been more obscene, with frantic women bearing in circling procession enormous phalluses, which they manipulated by means of ropes.

Dr. Reichenau, traveling on the Gold Coast, witnessed a festival very similar to the Greek and Egyptian ones, and which was celebrated at harvest time. Here, too, wooden phalluses or imitation virile organs of various size were borne in a circle and manipulated with cords attached to their backs, by girls and women, drunken with joy as they took part in the tumultuous scene.

At the feasts of Demetrius in Sicily, honey and sesame cakes in the form of genital organs were the offering, which cannot fail to remind one of the *phallophori* and the *ithyphallophori*, followed by Greek virgins, bearing in pro-

cession a Bacchus with three phalluses, while a matron wreathed with flowers the images of triumphant virility.

Not so well known is the fact that, in times near to our own, that is, in the Middle Ages, at the feasts of SS. Damian and Cosmus, waxen phalluses were publicly sold. This is a respectable incident, in comparison with the act of the Carthaginian Manicheans, who sprinkled with semen their eucharistic bread.¹³

¹³ See Note I (letter I), in *Notes and Additions*.

III

THE SEXUAL EMBRACE AND ITS FORMS

Origin of Sexual Embrace, a Curious Savage Explanation—Coitus, an Automatic Function—Examples—Comparative Dimensions of Genitals in Various Races—Man Most Diversified Lover—Theological Objections—Paré's Advice—Representations of Erotic Positions—Singular Method of Australian Natives—Physiological Causes—Comparative Sexual Vigor of Negroes and Other Races—Brutal Methods of Defloration—Forms of the Hymen—Evaluation of Virginity—Deceptions Practiced by Non-Virgins—Proofs of Virginity—Sacred Virgins—Virginity Not Treasured by the Caribs, and Others—Self-Defloration—Public Initiation of Brides—Amorous Restrictions—Frequency of Intercourse—Practices of Western Peoples.

HUMAN speech impresses certain metaphysicians as being a thing so surprising and miraculous as not to be explicable through the physiology of the nervous centers, and so they bring in a supreme being, who taught speech to the featherless biped, who without this miracle would have remained dumb as a fish. I do not know whether or not these same metaphysicians would hold that the intervention of the divinity was necessary for teaching man and woman the method of coming together in the fecundating embrace. However this may be, we know that there is current among the negroes of Loango a curious tradition, which would explain how it was that man and woman learned to make love.

Nzambi (the Creator) bestowed his praises upon woman for having held out against the temptation to eat of the fruit of God, but decided that it was not well that she should be stronger than man. And so, Nzambi proceeded to carve woman and to take out some of her bones, leaving her a smaller and a weaker creature. But when he went to rebake

her, he found that he did not have enough dough, and accordingly was forced to leave a small aperture in her flesh, with which woman was none too content. The man, to console her, looked about him to see how he might close up this hole, and—the rest is to be guessed. In this manner it was that men and women learned to make love.

Such traditions as these would appear to afford a demonstration of how it is possible to be a negro of Loango and a metaphysician, at one and the same time. We, however, who are neither negroes nor metaphysicians, believe that man had no need of anyone to teach him how to come together with woman. The sexual embrace is an automatic motor reflex, which is inherited, and which is accomplished like respiration or the sucking of milk from the mother's breast. A male and female of the age of puberty and amorously attracted to each other, though they be as innocent as Adam and Eve before the fall, whether shut up in a room or free in the forest, upon approaching each other, exchanging kisses and hugs, would find involuntarily, I might say unconsciously, the fresh pathways of voluptuousness which lead to the making of a new creature.

I myself have come into possession of a very interesting fact, found among our own countrymen, which goes to demonstrate this truth. A young farmer lad, as pure and innocent as distilled water, upon finding himself in a stable with a girl as innocent and as pure as himself, experienced an irresistible impulse to possess her. She permitted her companion in love to do anything that he wished; but when the youth beheld coming out of himself a liquid substance that he had never seen before, and which in his ignorance he took to be the marrow of his bones, he forthwith ran weeping to his mother to tell her what had happened, believing that something in him had burst or been fractured.

I am inclined to believe that a thing of this sort occurs a good deal more frequently among savage peoples, who go wholly nude to the age of puberty, than it does with us. I have seen with my own eyes, in the interior of Paraguay, children of both sexes, wholly nude, playing with each other freely; and under such conditions, it is my opinion that

more than once, as a result of curiosity or sportiveness, even before the age of puberty, attempted or experimental embraces occur which may result in dilating little by little the feminine genitals, and possibly even in taking away virginity, without any necessity of a true and violent defloration.

Anyone who has visited the Museum of the Louvre at Paris must have found his eyes coming to rest upon a young satyr (No. 276), who, in addition to his sensual lips, has an incomparable expression of cynical and lascivious laughter. His mouth is distorted, his nostrils are wide and flaring, while his eye is intent upon contemplating a longed for object. This expression is, to tell the truth, one of the most natural and terrible of those which, as a matter of course in the physical realm, precede the sexual embrace; a woman who is conscious of being gazed on in such a manner must feel an irresistible fascination, such as would hurl her, willing or not, into the arms of the man. I am acquainted with a certain young girl who, innocent of everything sexual, upon having a virile member thrust into her hand by a libertine, experienced so great a degree of lascivious emotion that she was led to cry out, as many female animals do at first rude contact with the fecundating male.

These and many other facts bear all too eloquent witness that men and women in all lands and in all ages instinctively come together to rekindle the spark of life; and this is something that ought to be known by all those parents who, while well acquainted with theology and metaphysics, have never so much as opened the book of nature. It is their duty to assure their daughters against sexual surprises, lest these latter be the dynamite which produces amorous explosions. More often than not, the woman has been overcome by the female in her, and virginity has gone down in shipwreck, one of which no barometer or meteorological observatory was at hand to warn her.

In civilized society, with all its religious and moral extinguishers, we yet do not succeed in concealing many times the automatic reactions of the sexual organs; and so it is that lessons in lovemaking are necessary, and the woman,

more timid and more ignorant than ourselves. must learn from man how it is that mankind is made. Other times, it is the woman who, selling her love piecemeal, teaches the young man how to pluck the fruit of the fatal tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Within the limited range of my own experience, I know a young man, highly virtuous and religious, who desired to carry with him intact to the altar his own virginity. This young man remained a virgin still for eight whole months in his bride's bed. The wife, terrified by the first threatening pains of defloration had persuaded her all too ignorant husband that this could not be the right way, or that they must at least set about it in somewhat different fashion; until the bridegroom finally had to have recourse to a physician, who laughingly gave him a lesson in the art of love.

The man of any race, providing he has attained the age of puberty, may unite with the woman of whatever race, without their union necessarily being sterile; for science has entirely cleared away such false beliefs as this. Count P. E. Strezelecki assures us that an Australian woman who had conceived with a white man could no longer have children with a man of her own race.¹ Brough Smyth combats this belief, which was too readily adopted by other ethnologists, and cites this fact, which speaks clearly enough for itself. The Rev. Hartmann, of the Lake Hindmarck station, knew a pure-blood Australian woman who had two halfbreed children by a white man, and who afterward had an Australian child by a man of her own race. Another Australian woman had a halfbreed by a European, and immediately after a pure Australian child by an Australian.

Green knew a Bocat woman of the Yarra tribe who had a halfbreed child and later two pure Australian infants. He also knew a woman of the Goulburn tribe who had a halfbreed child, which she killed, and later four pure Australian children. The Rev. Hagenauer, of the Lake Wellington station, knew a woman who first had two halfbreeds and later six pure Australian children. In two other cases, he knew Australian women to have in succession pure and

¹ *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, p 346.

halfbreed children, according as they had had relations with natives or with Europeans. The halfbreeds, too, are fertile with other halfbreeds, as with Europeans or Australians. It is rare, but it has been known to happen, for European women to give themselves of their own accord to Australian men and to have sons by the latter; Brough Smyth cites several examples.²

Observations as yet are very scarce with regard to the varying form and dimensions of the sexual organs in the various races; but it has been proved that negroes as a general rule have a virile member much larger than that of other peoples; and I myself, while practicing medicine for a number of years in South America, have been able to verify this fact with my own eyes. Corresponding to this greater size of the male's genitals, the vagina in negresses is likewise unusually large. Falkenstein found the negroes of Loango to have a very large penis, their women finding little satisfaction in embracing a European, because of the annoying small size of our implement. The same author controverts Topinard's singular idea, to the effect that the greater size of the member in negroes is not to be verified except when the organ is in a flaccid state, this conveying the impression that the negro's penis would be much smaller in erection. Falkenstein further observes that, with the negresses of Loango, as with us, the appearance of menstruation is marked by great individual differences, occurring anywhere from the twelfth to the seventeenth year, or even at the twentieth.

Man is without doubt the animal who is in a position to make love in the greatest possible number of ways, being aided in this by the agility and mobility of his virile member. The *Figuræ Veneris* of Forberg are forty-eight in number, surpassing, it may be seen, by twelve, the famous thirty-six modes of Aretino; but this represents a poverty of method as compared with those set forth in the ancient books of India, which, according to some, contain illustrations of hundreds and hundreds of erotic positions. This question is important, not merely from the anthropological

² *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

and ethnic point of view, but also in the realm of theology and religion. Certain positions, according to the casuists, are permitted, while others constitute a sin!—*Excessus conjugum fit, quando uxor cognoscitur retro, stando, sedendo a latere, et mulier super virum.*" ("It is a case of conjugal excess, when knowledge of the woman is had from the rear, standing up, lying on her side, or with the woman on top of the man.")

A great specialist in these metaphysical quibblings having to do with the sexual embrace, in a chapter entitled *De circumstantia, modo vel situ* ("On circumstance, mode or position"), has written the following for the guidance of confessors:

"The natural position is for the man to be above, the woman beneath, for this way is better adapted to the spilling of the masculine semen and its reception in the female vessel, for the purpose of procreating a child. It follows that if coitus is otherwise performed, with the woman seated, standing, on her side, or if it is done from the rear (in the manner of cattle), or with the man beneath and the woman above, this is unnatural."

And elsewhere:

"It is, however, not so sinful on the part of wives, if they alter their position from just cause, either from illness, on account of the husband's corpulence, or from fear of aborting; and St. Thomas goes so far as to assert that there is no sin involved, when the condition of the body does not permit of another mode."³

In another highly curious volume, dedicated to *His Holiness, Our Sovereign Pontiff, Benedict XIV.*, Girolamo dal Portico, a regular priest of the Congregation of the Mother of God, devotes 770 quarto pages to a theological study of love. Following is a sample of the moral casuistry of this worthy cleric:

"The first and best known case of conscience growing out of amorous triflings has to do with the exchange of repeated, fixed and amorous glances between young men and girls; to attempt to take away from such acts the likely peril of certain evil

³ Craisson, *De rebus venereis ad usum confessoriorum*, Parisiis, 1870.

thoughts and effects would be like separating heat from the fire or its light from the sun. For in the first place, gazing fixedly upon the countenance of a light woman is in itself a great incentive to lust and has been the cause of hurling many into sin, as the Holy Spirit warns us in the Book of Ecclesiasticus: *Turn away thy face from the woman who is bedecked, nor marvel at her strange appearance; for the appearance of a woman, many have perished; and out of this, a concupiscence that is like fire flames up. . . . For having gazed upon the appearance of a strange woman, many are become reprobate.*⁴

"It is worth while here advising young confessors not to fall suddenly silent, when, upon having put a question, they receive a response from the young men or maidens to the effect that no wrong has been done; inasmuch as by wrong, the penitents understand none other than certain acts which are uglier and more obscene, not being concerned with so much other evil which may be and commonly is committed in the course of these love affairs. Accordingly, for the instruction of those who are just beginning to hear confessions, I deem it my duty to give here something like a catalogue of the many and grave sins which these young men and maidens take upon themselves, when they enter into love affairs which for the most part go unsupervised and overlooked; I have thought it best to do this in the Latin tongue, where the Sixth Commandment is concerned, in pursuance of that praiseworthy custom of so very many writers down to our own day, who, having begun to write in the Tuscan tongue, have changed their style when it came to expounding certain matters of a slightly lubricious character. I shall not pretend, however, to give a catalogue so complete as to include all the sins which are committed in the course of love affairs; this is *not merely because they are innumerable*; I also hesitate for the reason that I do not deem it befitting either the writer's modesty or that respect which is due the reader, to go into details on this head. . . .

"Quamquam vero quamplures Theologos proferi sciam, qui quosdam actus leviores ut intorsionem digiti, pressionem pedum, vellicationem aut prehensionem manum et similes a lethali peccato eximunt, iidam tamen circumscri-

⁴ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—The quotation is from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, in the Vulgate, Chapter IX., verses 8ff. As Lacroix points out, in his *History of Prostitution*, "strange woman," or "foreign woman," with the Hebrews, referred to a prostitute, who commonly was a foreigner.

bunt suam sententiam hisce limitibus, dummodo scilicet iidem actus fiant per transennam, ob jocum, ex levitate et absque affectu lascivo et venereo et periculo eidem consentiendi. Quae exceptio de affectu, seu delectatione venerea adeo certa est, ut plures Theologi ab eadem sententia, quae damnavit propositionem de osculo ob carnalem et sensibilem delectationem habito, etiam secluso periculo ulteriores consensus et pollutiones, damnari etiam implicite patent eodem jure hos actus leviores ob carnalem et sensibilem delectationem habitos. Quamobrem P. Jacobus Coreglia post ea verba, quae supra retulimus, statim subjungit:

("Although, it is true, I am aware that certain Theologians could be cited who would exempt from the category of mortal sin certain slighter acts, such as the intertwining of the fingers, pressing of the feet, stroking or holding of the hands, and things of that sort, yet these same ones circumscribe their opinion within certain limits, adding the provision that these acts be done lightly and in passing, or as a jest, without any lascivious or venereal affection or danger of consent attaching to them. As regards this exception having to do with venereal affection or delectation, it may be stated that a number of Theologians, by the same course of reasoning which condemns the kiss as a carnal and sensuous delectation, even where there is no danger of further consent or pollution, would by the same rule, as may be seen, implicitly condemn these slighter acts as a carnal and sensuous delectation. Wherefore, Father Jacobus Coreglia, following the words which we have just reported, at once adds: 'From this, it follows that the stroking of a woman's arm, the pressing of her foot, the squeezing of her hand or fingers, or the indulging in any similar contacts for the sake of the carnal or sensual delectation that results, even though there be no danger of further consent, is likewise a mortal sin.'")

What a gulf there is between these quibblings and those counsels given by one who was a good Christian, but not a theologian, the famous French physician, Ambroise Paré:

⁶ Girolamo dal Portico, *Gli amori fra le persone di sesso diverso disaminato co' principj della Morale Teologica per istruzione di novelli confessori*, Lucca, 1751. The quotation from Father Coreglia is in Italian, not Latin; it has, however, for convenience, been kept within the parentheses.

"The man, being abed with his companion and spouse, should fondle, tickle, caress and excite her, in case he finds her a bit callous to the spur. The husbandman does not enter the field of human nature without knowing what he is about, without having made his preparations, which in this case take the form of kisses . . . handling, also, her genital parts and the tips of her breasts in order that she may be taken with desire for the male (which occurs when her matrix begins to wriggle), that she may conceive the appetite and will to cohabit and to make one of God's little creatures, as the two semen streams flow together; for some women are not so ready at this sport as are men." ⁶

I have had occasion to observe, in many modern paintings of India and Japan, not to speak of the priceless ivories which adorned the golden throne of a King of Tanjore in the fifteenth century, representations of the strangest and most ingenious erotic positions, such as would lead one to believe that all mankind had brought its imagination to bear in devising new varieties of voluptuousness and unwonted groupings in the realm of amorous acrobatics. According to the theological casuists of the Middle Ages, for whom the sexual embrace in itself was all but a mortal sin, the ideal form of the embrace, from the moral point of view, was when it was performed with as little pleasure as possible, and with a very minimum of bodily contact compatible with the sole aim of the act, procreation.

Man has exhausted his imagination and the dictionary in the service of lasciviousness. Every tongue is rich in synonyms for the genital organs and for coitus; sixteenth-century French alone has more than three hundred terms for the sexual embrace, and four hundred for the genital parts of man and woman.

The most nearly universal form of the embrace is that in which the woman lies supine and the man face downwards, the latter performing the act of fecundation between her thighs, in a position that shows little deviation from the body's normal one. In ancient Peruvian vases, and in the paintings of Pompeii and of India, this classic form of

⁶ A. Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, Edit. Malgaigne, t. II., p 460, Paris, 1840.

the embrace may be seen represented, over and over again. Upon it, as if to signify that it is befitting and pleasing above all others, the ready-tongued Tuscans have bestowed the name of *angelic* (*angelica*).

Dr. O. Kersten told Dr. Ploss of having frequently seen the Szuaheli of Zanzibar lying under their women, while the latter moved their bodies about as if they were grinding corn. This movement, which increases the man's pleasure, is known as *digitischa*, and is taught to the girls by the old women of the tribe; the course of instruction must be a difficult one, seeing that school lasts for forty days. In Zanzibar it is a grave insult to tell a woman that she does not know how to do the *digitischa*. Ploss adds that this movement is known also in the Dutch East Indies.

In the Sudan, Dr. A. Brehm assures us, the woman likes to stand bending forward with her hands upon her knees, while the man performs his function from the rear. In the Pompeian paintings, this erotic position is frequently to be observed. The Eskimos, among others, give their preference to this *modus coeundi*; and the Konjags do practically the same.

The Kamchatkans believe the customary or "angelic" form of embrace to be a great sin; according to their view, the man and woman should lie on their sides, as the fishes do; for the fish happens to be their staple article of diet.

Pechuel Loesche informs us that the Loango negroes make love on their sides; and he adds that the possible reason for their choice of this position is the excessive size of the virile member. He draws attention to the fact, however, that the Tsiutsci and Namollo tribes as well prefer this position, without having the same excuse to allege for it. At Loango, love is only made behind closed doors, and never on the ground, but upon an elevated pallet, and then, only at night and without witnesses.⁷

In the same region, whoever seduces a girl below the age of puberty brings ill luck to the land, and an expiatory sacrifice is called for. Even the young men who indulge in

⁷ Pechuel Loesche, "Indiscretos aus Loango," *Zeit. für Ethn.*, 1878, H. 1, p. 26.

the love rite before attaining their majority, which is the age of twenty, are subjected to punishment.

Among these peoples, intercourse with pregnant women is not forbidden.

Little is known of the special tastes of the various races in the matter; but it is an established fact that the Australians make love in a singular manner. A number of travelers have observed the natives of this country engaged in the act *coram populo*. Any one wishing to amuse himself by such a sight has but to offer some man a glass of brandy, and the latter will at once set about finding a female with whom to put on the desired scene. This is done by travelers, not out of any salacious curiosity, but that they may be able to observe the human embrace under forms which for us would be impossible or anything but fitting.

Miklucho-Maclay describes one of these scenes, in which the man, having set about it in the native way, became impatient for the promised glass of gin, and, when about half done, suddenly exclaimed, "That takes too long!" adding, "I'll finish it English fashion"; and laying the woman down, he was on her and had it over with.⁸

Gerland⁹ asserts that the Australian women have their genitals placed further back than is the case with our women, and that it is for this reason that the men are accustomed to performing coitus from the rear.¹⁰

Inasmuch as I knew that, in the city of Le Havre, there is preserved the precious manuscript account of a journey around the world, made at the beginning of this century, and that in connection with the manuscript, there are certain drawings of Lesueur, done from the life and depicting Tasmanians in the act of coitus, I addressed myself to the distinguished M. Leunier, director of the Museum of that city, asking him if he would be so kind as to have these drawings copied for me, since they are among the most important having to do with a people now extinct. M. Leu-

⁸ *Zeit. für Ethnol. Verhand.*, 1880, p. 57.

⁹ *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, Part 6, p. 714.

¹⁰ George Fletcher Moore states that the sexual embrace is known to the Australians as *mu-yang*, and Ploss describes it with great detail (*Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 230).

nier was exceedingly courteous in the matter, and sent me the two most important drawings, as copied by A. Noury, a noted painter of Le Havre. These figure drawings show that the Tasmanians also were in the habit of making love Australian fashion; from which is to be derived a further argument in favor of the ethnic relationship of these peoples.

We do not possess the statistics for drawing up an ethnographical chart of the varying sexual vigor in the races of mankind; but with an accuracy that is near enough to scientific, we may state that, in general, negroes are mighty lovers, possibly the first of the human family in this respect; and we may similarly assume that polygamous peoples, owing to greater exercise of their sexual organs, have stronger ones and, so to speak, more ready for the fray.¹¹ The Turks, the Arabs, the Hindus, expending as a rule less strength in intellectual struggle, and having, at the same time, in their harems and their zenanas, a luxurious assortment of females, are in a position easily to outdistance us, when it comes to bedroom joustings.

The first embrace in the female of the human species is marked by the special fact of defloration, that is, the breaking of the hymen, which more or less closes the door leading to the vagina.¹²

It appears that all women, the world over, have the hymen; but we cannot say as to whether or not it varies in different races, with regard to form or resistibility. Even among us, divergencies are noticeable, the hymen being now a half-moon in shape, now circular, extremely fragile sometimes, and sometimes able to hold out against the intervention of the surgeon's scalpel. In certain cases, it may even be lacking. I myself have verified the complete absence of the hymen in a young girl of six or seven, the result of a slight leucorrhea in convalescing from a severe case of typhoid fever. Such cases cannot be very rare, seeing

¹¹ As to the varying standard of sexual vigor in individuals, see Mantegazza, *Igiene dell' amore*, Edition of 1889, pp. 70ff.

¹² For the psychological side of the question of virginity, see Mantegazza, *Fisiologia dell' amore*, p. 102.

that A. Paré, Dulaurens, Graaf, Pinoeus, Dionis, Mauriceau and Palfyn have gone so far as to deny that the hymen is an integral and essential part of the female sexual organs.

If the reader will permit, I should like to pause for a moment over this tiny shred of human flesh, about which love and pride have woven some of the weirdest imaginings that the human brain ever conceived.

The hymen is placed horizontally across the upper part of the vagina, in such a manner as to close it completely, posteriorly, while in front it is scalloped on a level with the urinary meatus. It commonly has the form of a half-moon, with a convex edge, firmly attached to the lower and lateral part of the vagina. Its front edge is concave, and guards the opening of the urethra, leaving a free passage to the lower part of the vaginal orifice.

In the Anatomical Museum of Heidelberg may be seen all the various forms of hymen, which Dr. Garimon classifies as follows:

1) *The hymen with a central aperture.* This may be circular, and may be situated in the center or at one side of the median line; it may also be elongated or quadrangular;

2) *The hymen in the form of a half-moon, with anterior aperture.* It is occasionally subdivided into two secondary fissures of a perpendicular membrane, the extremities of which are inserted above the urinary meatus.

3) *The imperforate hymen, or the one cribbled with little holes.*

There are likewise hymens divided throughout their length, from front to back, by means of an irregular cleft, while others have a double aperture, etc.

It is over this diminutive membrane, so fragile and so varied in form, that juriconsults and other experts have spilled their torrents of ink, by way of determining whether a given case might be one of rape or merely due to amorous dallying, possible even to masturbation. Yet we have all about us any number of young girls who have prostituted every orifice of their body with the exception of the gate of Venus, and who still remain anatomically virgins; just

as there have been cases of pregnancy where the hymen was intact! ¹³ Dr. Schroeder is deserving of special credit for having shown how the hymen may remain intact, even after coitus, while after many embraces, it may be merely a bit notched or abraded at the sides.

We, however, are not engaged in writing a treatise on legal medicine, but are concerned, simply, with the value attached to virginity by various peoples. These valuations put upon the thing are in some cases as far apart as the two poles. In one instance, man has attached so much value to the existence of the hymen as to make of it the legitimate symbol of woman's purity; in other instances, he looks upon it merely as an annoying inconvenience, standing between him and the pleasure of the embrace, and accordingly has given to others the task of breaking it.

It is my opinion that, if it were possible to draw up an exact set of statistics respecting the peoples who hold to one or the other of these views, it would be found that by far the greater number put a high valuation upon virginity. It is altogether natural that it should be so; man is proud and happy at being the first to enter the temple; and while satisfying at one and the same time his two major passions, love and pride, he feels that he has, also, a better guaranty that the pleasure which he is the first to possess will not be enjoyed by any other.

Among highly idealistic peoples, virginity has been exalted to the skies, and all Christians adore a Mother of God who is a Virgin. In the same way, it was believed that Ghengis Khan was the son of a virgin, and so, lifted above the level of ordinary humankind. In the Bible, we note that the husband may repudiate the bride who is not found to be a virgin; and if the accusation was confirmed by the

¹³ On this head, see: Guérard, "Sur la valeur de l'existence de la membrane hymen comme signe de virginité," *Ann. d'hygiène*, 1872, 2e série, t. XXXVIII., p. 409.—Bergeret, *Des fraudes dans l'accomplissement des fonctions génératrices*, Paris, 1873.—Courty, *Traité pratique des maladies de l'utérus et de ses annexes*, p. 35.—Taylor, *Medical Jurisprudence*, 3rd edition, p. 807.—Rose, *De l'hymen*, Thèse de Strasbourg, N. 862, 2e série, 1865.—Toulmouche, *Memoire sur les attentats à la pudeur et le viol*, *Ann. d'hygiène*, 1864.—D. Garimond, "De l'hymen et de son importance en médecine légale." *Annales d'hygiène publique*.

elders of the tribe, she might be stoned. If, on the contrary, she had been slandered, the husband must pay a fine and take her back.

In Persia, the bride must be a virgin; and the husband, upon his own unsupported declaration to the effect that he had not found her untouched the first night, might put her aside. To avoid the danger of this, the parents of a girl who had gone astray would marry her off to some poor devil or some obliging lad, who would sign a certificate of virginity, so that she might find a second husband of greater worth. At other times, the girl, with a couple of stitches across the great lips of the womb, would re-manufacture a virginity for herself a few hours before the embrace, and thus provide her credulous husband with the bloody signs of a false virtue.¹⁴

It would appear, however, that husbands were not always so easygoing as this. In Egypt, the bridegroom would sometimes cover the index-finger of his right hand with a piece of fine muslin, and putting it up the vagina, would draw it out covered with blood and exhibit it to the relatives as an indubitable proof of virginity. This is still done by the Nubians and the Arabians; but with the former, the husband deflowers the bride in the presence of witnesses, while with the Arabs, the operation is performed by a matron.

Ploss¹⁵ assures us that the Egyptian Catholics deflower the bride by means of coitus, in the presence of the bride's mother and the bridegroom. Pallas relates that it is the custom of the Ostiacks and Samoides to make a gift to the mother-in-law when the latter presents the bridegroom with the signs of virginity.

The Slavs hold virginity in highest esteem. In southern Russia, the bride, before giving her husband authentic proofs of virginity, must show herself wholly nude to witnesses, by way of establishing the fact that she has hidden

¹⁴ These same ladies would be shocked by Petronius' Quartilla, who could not remember ever having been a virgin: "*Tunonem meam iratam habeam, si umquam me meminerim virginem fuisse!*"

¹⁵ Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*, Leipzig, 1884, B. 1. p. 217.

about her no artificial means of simulating what she does not possess. It is also the custom to call in another to deflower the bride on the wedding night, in case the bridegroom is not able to do so.¹⁶

Certain proofs of virginity would appear to be the inventions of a lascivious curiosity, such as those to be found in use among the Moreans and in the Principality of Wales.¹⁷

In Africa, nearly all peoples restore the bride to her parents, when she is found not to be a virgin.¹⁸ Among the Szuaheli of Western Africa, if the girl is found to be intact, restitution is made to her family of half her dowry. The Bafioti negroes, as we have already seen, call the hymen *nkumbi* or *tscikumbi*, and these same terms are applied to the girl herself, from the first dawn of puberty to her first embrace with a man. According to some travelers, however, the husband attaches no importance to his bride's virginity. It is a singular thing that, while the Loango negroes despise prostitution, a *nkumbi* may make love without lowering herself in the general esteem.

In America, too, are to be met with peoples who put a great worth upon the hymen. Thus, the natives of Nicaragua sent back to her parents the bride who was not a virgin; and it would also seem that virginity was a matter of much consideration among Aztec husbands.¹⁹

Among the Laplanders, much liberty is granted the young girl; but the husband is nevertheless happy to find a virgin in his mate, and as a sign of rejoicing, he breaks a beaker on the morning after the wedding night, in case he has had occasion, in the course of the first connubial embrace, to break something else. If on the other hand, he has found the way unbarred, he proceeds to cast upon the bride's parents a shower of feathers as a sign of contempt. These details are given by Alquit.

¹⁶ It is obvious that the author is describing pre-Soviet conditions.—Editor's note.

¹⁷ Pouqueville, *Reise durch Morea und Albanien, Deutsch v. Müller*, Leipzig, 1805.

¹⁸ See Note K, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹⁹ See Note L, in *Notes and Additions*.

In Europe generally, girls who are not by any means too virtuous, and who have had a thorough schooling in all the many varied forms of flirtation, still usually go to their husband with an intact hymen.²⁰ In the case of anticipatory, over-hasty amorous experiences, there are not lacking means of simulating a virginity that does not exist, but which may be bought (the false article) from expert procuresses who know their trade. I know of girls who, before approaching the marriage bed, sprinkle their vaginas with a few drops of the bloody secretion from the feathers of young pigeons; they select for their wedding day the last day of their menstrual period, and, ingeniously concealed by a sponge, the menstrual fluid bursts forth at the climatic moment, when a well timed ah-h-h-l announces to the unsuspecting husband that the temple has been violated for the first time, and that it is indeed he who has rent the veil of the *sancta sanctorum*. Add to this those astringent and hyperastringent injections which at any given moment can furnish a prostitute, worn out by numberless customers, with a wombdiameter that is a good deal less than that of a virgin.²¹

If men in their choice of a companion would give a little more thought to virginity of heart and purity of mind, instead of seeking with an obscene and impudent curiosity for blood-stained traces in sheet and chemise, there would be far fewer cases of deception and a much greater happiness in the marriage relation!

²⁰ The Roman libertines bought at a dear price the flower of virginity; and the art of falsifying, or re-manufacturing virginity, many times over, was accordingly a well known one. By way of establishing the authenticity of the first deflowering, it was customary to encircle the girl's throat with a thread; if, after the first night of love, this thread was found too short to go about her throat, the defloration was looked upon as verified. It is to this test that Catullus alludes, in his marriage hymn:

Non illam nutrix orienti luce revisens

Hesterno collum poterit circumdare collo.

This precious bit of thread which had established a girl's virginity was hung up in the temple of the virginal Fortune, and for the *Verginiensis Dea* were preserved the other bloody evidences.

In ancient Rome, virgins could not be put to death until they had first been raped by their executioner. "*Immaturae puellae* (says Suetonius) *quia more tradito nefas esset virgines strangulari, vitatae prius a carnefice, dein strangulatae.*"

²¹ A celebrated Parisian hetaira of our own time boasted of having sold her virginity eighty-two times.

More logical are those peoples who, being not at all sure that their women's virginity will be preserved, seek to assure it with a couple of stout stitches, or infibulation; but of this cruel stitching we shall have more to say in connection with other mutilations to which the man subjects his *own* sexual organs and those of his mate.

At the opposite pole from those who so prize and insist upon virginity in their brides are those others who are not at all concerned for that little shred of flesh which is known as the hymen.

According to D'Hureau de Villeneuve,²² in Chinese works on medicine and surgery, the hymen is not described; and he explains this fact by stating that nurses and mothers, in the course of the constant ablutions to which they subject their infants' genitals, end by destroying the sign of virginity. It appears that in India a similar thing happens, and those Hindu women who have the care of European girl babies succeed in deflowering the latter by reason of the repeated cleansing of the genital parts. Epp enthusiastically lauds such customs as this, which he contrasts with the thoroughgoing lack of cleanliness on the part of us Europeans, who, through an excess of modesty or through neglect, convert the love nest into a *mephitic sewer*.

The ancient Egyptians cut off the hymen before matrimony, and St. Athanasius relates that the deflowering of the bride among the Phoenicians was a task turned over to one of the bridegroom's slaves.

The Caribs were another people who assigned no value to the virginity of their girls, and it was only young women of the highest class who had to be shut up in confinement two years before their marriage. It appears that in the Chibcha tribes of Central America, virginity in the bride was not in the least esteemed; indeed, it was looked upon as a sign that she had not been able to inspire love.

Aged spinsters were much thought of in ancient Peru. Peru had its sacred virgins, known as *women of the sun*,

²² *De l'accouchement dans la race jaune. Thèse.*—Cf. Ploss, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 219.

who corresponded closely to the Vestal Virgins of the Romans. They made a vow of perpetual chastity and spent their lives in weaving and in preparing the *chicha* and maize bread for the Inca. It is said that they too were buried alive in case of incontinence, providing, that is, they could not prove that they had conceived with the sun and not with a man. The seducer was put to death and his progeny destroyed. A number of historians worthy of credence assure us that these virgins were watched over by eunuchs. The temple of Cuzco had a thousand such virgins, and the temple of Caranque had two hundred. It would seem, nevertheless, that the virginity of these vestals was held as none too sacred, inasmuch as the Inca was in the habit of selecting from among them his concubines, or else he would present them to his vassals and best friends. According to Torquemada, these vestals did not remain in the temple for more than three years, after which time they were replaced by others. The Inca would select three of them to be consecrated priestesses of the sun, he would choose three others for his own use, and would marry off the remaining ones to his subjects, or would give them their freedom.

Marco Polo describes the manner in which young girls were exposed by their mothers along the public highway, where passersby might make free use of them. A girl must have received at least a score of gifts in the course of such a career in prostitution before she could find a husband. This did not mean that, once married, they were not thereafter virtuous; their post-matrimonial virtue was, as a matter of fact, highly regarded.²³

Waitz is responsible for the statement that in many regions of Africa, the girl who is preferred as a wife is the one who has distinguished herself by her many love affairs and by her powers of fecundity. Among the Bramen, those wives who have accumulated a wealth of guilty experience are all the dearer to their husbands.

Virginity was never to be found among the women of the

²³ See Note M, in *Notes and Additions*.

Machacuras of Brazil, and Feldner²⁴ gives us the following recondite explanation:

"There is no virgin to be found among them, for the reason that the mother, from the time her daughter is of a tender age, takes the utmost pains to see to it that anything in the way of a vaginal constriction or impediment is removed, which is done in the following way: she takes in her right hand a tree leaf shaped into the form of a funnel, and while the index-finger is moving about from one side to another in the genital parts, tepid water is poured in through the funnel."

Still more brutal methods are adopted for doing away with virginity in other countries. Thus among the Australians of the Peake River region, the unfortunate girl is held down hand and foot by many men, while one of the elders introduces first one finger, then two, then three, and finally four into her vagina. In other parts of Australia, in place of fingers, a stick or a stone is made use of.²⁵ Before matrimony, Australian women are deflowered with a piece of flint stone known as a *bogenan*. This is a statement of Hill, and Miklucho-Maclay adds that once upon a time girls when they married would receive as a gift from their women friends a cord known as the *bougevin*, with which to bind the renal region prior to coitus, since they believed that this tended to favor fecundation.

Among the Sakkalaw of Madagascar, girls deflower themselves, when their parents have not attended to this operation, which is a necessary one if they are to aspire to matrimony. Among the Balanti of Senegambia, one of the most abject races of Africa, girls cannot find a husband until they have first been violated by their king, the latter frequently demanding noteworthy donations for his services in rendering these lasses marriageable.²⁶

Barth (1856), in his description of Adamaua, states that the Bagole chief slept the first night with the girls of the

²⁴ W. Ch. G. v. Feldner, *Reise durch mehrere Provinzen Brasiliens*, Liegnitz, 1828, Vol. II., p. 148.

²⁵ Ploss, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 220.

²⁶ See Note N, in *Notes and Additions*.

Fulbe tribe, which was one subject to him. Similar facts are narrated of the natives of Brazil, and of the Kinipetu Eskimos. In connection with many of these, it is difficult to be sure as to whether what we have is a direct exercise of right by the powerful over the weak or a perverted taste for voluntary martyrdom.

Neëra, the celebrated Greek hetaira, according to what Demosthenes tells us, had seven slave girls whom she called her daughters, by way of giving the impression that they were free women, in order that she might get more money out of those who wished to possess them. She sold five or six times the virginity of each one of them, and finally disposed of the lot of them at one stroke.

The god Mutinus, Mutunus, or Tutunus, in ancient Rome, had the pleasure of seeing seated upon his knees those brides who had come to offer him their virginity. St. Augustine tells us: "*In celebratione nuptiarum super Priapi scapum nova nupta sedere jubebatur.*"²⁷ Lactantius adds a few details of a more intimate nature: "*Et Mutunus in cujus sinu pudendo nubentes praesident, ut illarum pudicitiam prius Deus delibasse videatur.*"²⁸ It would appear, however, that sometimes this virginal libation was not merely symbolic, but real; and after the girls had become brides, they would return to the knees of the favored god to invoke of him the gift of fecundity, in case they had proved to be sterile. Arnobius relates: "*Etiam ne Tutunus, cujus immanibus pudendis, horrentique fascino, vestras inequitare matronas et auspicabile ducitis et optatis?*"²⁹

Pertunda was another hermaphrodite divinity, who, St. Augustine pointedly suggests might better be known as *Deus Pretundus* (the one who is the first to strike), and who was borne to the nuptial couch in order that she might come to the bridegroom's aid. "*Pertunda in cubiculis*

²⁷ "In the marriage ceremony, the bride was required to sit upon the stalk of Priapus."

²⁸ "And Mutunus, on whose shameful lap brides sit, that the God may appear to be the first to deprive them of their modesty."

²⁹ "And is there not also Tutunus, whose tremendous pudenda and horrible phallus you superstitiously bring your matrons to ride?"

praesto est virginalem scrobem effodientibus maritis." (Arnobius.)⁸⁰

Defloration was accomplished by priests among the Konags, the Cambodians, and other peoples.

Jagor communicated to the Anthropological Society of Berlin a passage from Gemelli Caneri in which there is mention of a *stupratio officialis* once in vogue among the Bisayos of the Philippine Islands:

"No custom so barbarous is known as that which was there set up, of having public officers, and highly paid ones at that, whose function it was to deprive young girls of their virginity, for the reason that virginity was looked upon as an obstacle to the husband's pleasure. The truth is, there remains no trace of this infamous practice since the Spanish domination . . . but to this day, a Bisayos is afflicted at discovering that his wife is above suspicion, concluding from it, as he does, that, not having been an object of desire to any one, she must have some bad quality or other which will prevent his being happy with her."

Even among the Malabars, there were Brahmans who had no other religious duty than that of removing from young girls their flower of virginity, the girls paying them for this, since otherwise they would not be able to find a husband. The king of Calicut for his part conceded the *jus primae noctis* to a Brahman, and the ruler of Tamassai did the same to the first foreigner to arrive in the city, while the king of Campa reserved for himself the *jus primae noctis* in the case of all first marriages which occurred in his realm.⁸¹ Warthema states that the king of Calicut, when he went to take a wife, selected his most worthy and most learned Brahman to see the bride's deflowering, a service which was paid for at a rate of from four hundred to five hundred crowns. At Tenasserim, brides were paid by their fathers for permitting themselves to be deflowered by Christians and Mohammedans. Pascual de Andagoya, who visited Nicaragua

⁸⁰ "Pertunda in the bed stands ready to aid husbands scooping out the virginal trench."

⁸¹ De Gubernatis, *Storia dei viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Occidentali*. Livorno, 1875, p. 351. On the deflowering function of the Indian priests, see *ibid.*, p. 193, letter of Filippo Sassetti.

from 1514 to 1522, states that a high priest slept with the bride the first night, and Oviedo (1535), speaking of the Acovacks and other Americans, tells of one bride who, in order that her marriage might turn out to be happy, slept the first night with the magus, or *piache*; and Gomara reports the same fact (1551) concerning the inhabitants of Cumana.

Once the love path is open, the greater part of mankind feel no restraint about returning to it, so long as no restrictions are set up in the form of special religious, moral or hygienic laws.

In Esthonia, the possession of one's own wife on the first marriage night is looked upon as an evil thing; and in South America, I have known Catholic confessors who have counselled their penitents against accepting the embrace for three or four days after marriage. In certain regions of Esthonia, the husband must take care not to touch his wife's bosom, or later there will become evident something that will interfere with her milk.

More sensible are the amorous restrictions governing menstrual, puerperal and nursing periods.

Among the ancient Hebrews, the woman must allow for five days from the first appearance of the menstrual flow, and must then add seven for purification. Only after these twelve days, and after she had taken a bath, might she come near her husband. The transgression of this precept was punished with death. During this period, husbands might not even touch their wives with their hands.

Among the Medes, also, the Bactrians, and the Persians, the embrace was prohibited during menstruation and the nursing period. Transgression of the law was punished with two hundred strokes and a heavy fine.

Mohammed, in the *Koran*, forbids husbands to approach their wives at critical periods, or even to touch them from the girdle to the knee. Present Mohammedan laws prohibit the embrace during menstruation, in the puerperal period, and when the woman is ill. If a Turk marries a virgin, he is bound to devote to her the first seven consecutive nights, while if he takes a wife who is no longer a virgin, three

nights suffice. It is difficult to reconcile all the sexual precepts which are to be found in the *Koran*, in accordance with which the husband must embrace his wife at least once a week, while on the other hand, he is strictly required to abstain during menstruation and for eight days before and eight days after, as well as throughout the entire period of pregnancy and nursing, not to speak of the thirty fast-days of Ramasan.

Zoroaster limited a husband's duties to once every nine days, in which he differs little from Solon, who fixed a minimum of three love-embraces a month. With the Druses, the amorous prescription is smaller still, since a husband may not approach his wife more than once during the month that follows her menstrual period; and if after a month, the flow does not reappear, he must then abstain entirely, for this must mean that she is pregnant.

The Wakamba and the Wakikugu tribes of East Africa may not make love while the cattle are at pasturage, that is to say, from morning to evening, or when on a journey, even though the wife may be in the caravan. As a sign of mourning for the death of a mate or of a chief, the Wanika must for three days abstain from women. The Wakanka, on the contrary, require coitus under two very diverse sets of circumstances. When a widow would remarry, a man from another tribe must possess her once before the wedding. If a Kikamba woman dies, or if her blood is spilled from any cause, a stranger must sleep with the corpse the following night and have intercourse with it. The following morning, he finds a roped cow, which is for him. This custom is kept concealed, and the thing is done in secrecy.

In many African tribes (for example, among the Dahomey), the men may not touch the woman any more after she becomes pregnant or while she is nursing, just as they must keep their distance from her during the days of lunar flux. At this period, along the Gold Coast, the women retire to special huts. The Loango women do the same thing, but with foreigners, on the other hand, they are not at all concerned about such matters.

Among the Wallawalla and the Selisch tribes of Oregon,

the women at their critical period live apart in special huts.³²

One would never have done, if he were to undertake to mention all the peoples among whom the menstruating woman is looked upon as impure, or if he were to undertake to give the lengthy list of all the superstitions which in a darker era surrounded, or still surround to our own day, the act of menstruation, the menstrual blood, and everything that has to do with this mysterious and unclean genital function in the woman.³³ I shall merely add a few less known details regarding the Australians.

It will doubtless strike us as very strange to find among certain Australian tribes the most rigorous restrictions for the menstruating woman, restrictions in many instances superior to those that we have in Europe. Here is what Dawson³⁴ has to say on the subject:

"The married woman who is menstruating is required to sleep by herself on the other side of the domestic hearth, nor is it permitted her to touch the food or drink of anyone else. Nor does anyone care to consume the food or drink which she may have touched, as being likely to make him ill. The unmarried woman or the widow, moreover, who is suffering from the same circumstance, is bound by the same law with regard to food and drink; each is required to paint her head and her body down to the waist with red chalk, nor is it permitted young unmarried women to enter the house of one who is menstruating. Should the menstruating woman meet anyone in her path, she must turn aside. It is, however, permitted her to walk about and to take part in the conversation of friends without being molested in so doing, but she is not to dance or to beat the drum in the *corrobboree*."

Dawson adds that nature would appear to have taught the Australians that which Moses, the inspired of God, imparted to the Hebrews for the conserving of their health. We Euro-

³² See Note O, in *Notes and Additions*.

³³ Any one who would form some idea in the matter, may consult the very learned work by Ploss; see the chapter devoted to puberty and menstruation: *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 169ff.

³⁴ James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, etc. Melbourne, 1881.

peans, by contrast, however civilized and polished we may be, show a respect neither for the menstruating woman, the pregnant woman, nor the one who is in a puerperal state. On my own account, I have known a general who was also the governor of a province, and who so loved his own wife as to insist upon visiting her the first week after her child-bed; I cite this fact for the reason that it may hold an interest for science. She was pregnant once more, three days after she had borne her child; and nine months later, she gave birth to a second.

In the matter of genital cleanliness, many savages could give us lessons in hygiene and moderation; but we are monogamous, and above all, the preachers of a virtue which we do not practice.

IV

THE ARTIFICES OF SENSUAL PLEASURE

Penile Operations Among the Dayaks—Native Devices for Increasing Voluptuous Sensations—The Ampallang—Instruments and Methods of the Chinese—Jinglebells—The Cylinder—The Sagras—The Star—Lascivious Practices of Australian Tribes—Suffumigations of the Genitals—Superstitions Regarding Semen—Aphrodisiacs—Flagellation—The Marquis de Sade—His Erotic Inventions—A European Ampallang—Dangerous Phallic Contrivances—Cases.

MAN, not content with the natural pleasure of the sexual embrace, has endeavored to increase it with many and varied artifices, in which his imagination has outdone itself.

We know from the accounts of old time travellers how various tribes of Asia and the Islands of the Sound were in the habit of triggung out the virile member with various contraptions designed to render it more pleasing to the female; but most people held these reports to be false or exaggerated. Now, however, it is no longer permitted us to doubt of them, and Miklucho-Maclay has given us a practically complete history of these extravagant inventions for the furthering of human lust.

He has had the opportunity to examine a Dayak's virile member preserved in the Museum of the Military Hospital of Batavia. The glans penis and the urethra are perforated, the artificial canal being of small diameter, since the specimen is greatly shriveled. The perforation, effected by means of a silver needle, is to permit the passage of an instrument which, during the sexual embrace, will strongly rub the vagina, producing an unaccustomed pleasure. The exciting instrument is a small silver rod, bored through at its two extremities, into which are placed a pair of bristles, in

such a manner as to form a sort of small double whisk-broom. The rod may be of ivory, silver, or of brass.

It appears that some of these have a double perforation, possibly to permit the insertion of two excitatory apparatuses, or to permit changing the position of the pleasure-producing broom. Dr. Steenstra-Toussaint assured Miklucho-Maclay that he had seen such a penis which was bored through from top to bottom above the prepuce. Von Grafen of Batavia, the first European to make extended journeys into the interior of Borneo, gave the Russian traveller many details regarding this singular practice of the Dayaks.

The operation is only performed on adults. The prepuce is drawn back, the member is held between two strips of bamboo, and for eight or ten days is kept covered in cloths dipped in cold water. Then the glans is bored through with a small stick of sharpened bamboo, and into the wound there is introduced a pigeon's feather annointed with oil, which is taken out and freshened each day until the wound is cicatrized. Cold cloths are constantly applied during the interval. Working or travelling, the Dayaks keep a feather in the canal which has been thus hollowed out through the glans. When they wish to make love, they remove the feather and put in the *ampallang*.

The *ampallang* is a small copper, silver, or gold rod about four centimeters in length and two millimeters thick. On one end of the rod there is a tiny ball of agate or of metal, and on the other end there is strung a second ball when the *ampallang* has been placed in position. When in position, the entire contrivance has the length of five and one-half centimeters.

The lady has various ways, all of them very modest ones, of indicating the size of the *ampallang* that is desired. She may hide in her husband's plate of rice a betel leaf rolled about a cigarette; or with the fingers of her right hand placed between her teeth, she will give the measure of the one to which she aspires. The Dayak women have a right to insist upon the *ampallang*, and if the man does not consent, they may seek a separation. They say that the embrace without this contrivance is plain rice; with it, it is rice

with salt. Once accustomed to this voluptuous tidbit, they cannot do without it. In the embrace, the men seek to put their *ampallang* in an oblique position, so that when introduced into the vagina it will remain in a transverse position with reference to the latter.

Von Graffin once saw a Dayak who wore two *ampallangs*, one behind the other. All the rest had but a single one, the perforation being always horizontal and above the eurethra.

Riedel assured Miklucho that even in the northern Celibes, the *ampallang* was in use, that it was there known as the *kambiong* or *kambi*, and that it had a small cord at each extremity, probably for the purpose of changing the direction of the excitatory instrument. He further stated that it was the custom to place about the base of the glans the eye-lids of a nannygoat with their accompanying bristles, by way of procuring a greater degree of voluptuousness for the woman during coitus. In Java, too, strips of goat hair are fastened about the glans; these may be several centimeters in size. Sometimes, the entire member is wrapped in a sort of lining of goat's hair, with only the glans protruding.

A yet more singular mode of rendering the masculine member more pleasing to the woman is that of making in the glans a few deep incisions and placing in them small flint stones. When the incision is healed, the glans takes on a knobby appearance and is more energetic in action. This reminds one of a similar circumstance reported by Amerigo Vespucci, who states that the American native women are in the habit of increasing artificially the size of their husband's members.¹

The Chinese women compare not unfavorably with the Dayak ones in this regard. During their long hours of leisure and domestic imprisonment, they give themselves to masturbation, and not being content with their fingers, they make use of special instruments contrived for lascivious purposes. Their husbands, as well, make use of the *curl*, of which

¹ *Relazione delle scoperte fatte de Colombo, etc.*, Bologna, 1875, p. 137. See Note P, in *Notes and Additions*.

Hureau de Villeneuve gives us a description, in his thesis on *Childbirth in the Yellow Race*.

"This feathered cluster, having been carefully extracted, is rolled up into the form of a ringlet, displaying on the outside a number of hairy tufts. A silver-coated thread separates these tufts, when the ring is closed. An instrument, it may be seen, which is something like a dog-collar or a neck-band, furnished with outstanding knobs or spikes. This hirsute ringlet is inserted into the furrow which lies between the glans and the prepuce. The frictions produced by coitus induce a great turgidity of the mucous membrane of the vagina, and with it, that contraction of the cavity which is so desired by salacious husbands."

The Chinese discourage the use of the "curl" by pregnant women, but they make use of it to produce abortions.² In the accounts left us by travellers of old, we come upon descriptions of the artifices in use in various countries. Thus, in the Hakluyt Society's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, we read:

"In this one state alone, there are a number of shops dealing in a silly and lascivious object, of which I here set down the description for the reader's amusement. In these shops, there are sold to women only objects which we would term *sonagli*, or jingle-bells, from the word *sono* (*suono*), sound, as I think; they are of gold, silver, or brass, and in the shape of a small filbert. With these contraptions a man must provide himself before taking a wife (or else, he is rejected from the connubial couch). Having excised and elevated slightly the cuticle of his virile member, he must insert between the skin and the flesh a collection of these bells, to the number of a dozen or more, variously distributed as he may see fit. The cuticle is then sewed up, and in a few days the wound is healed. The purpose of this is to add to the woman's pleasure; for from these little globules and the increased size of the member, females derive the greatest pleasure, it is said. The members of many of the men are to be heard jingling against their

² Dr. Abel Hureau de Villeneuve, *De l'accouchement dans la race jaune* Thèse de Paris.

thighs as they walk. But when Nicholas was taunted by the women for the smallness of his priapic organ and was urged to make use of the contrivance, he declined, being unwilling to undergo the pain for the sake of giving pleasure to others."

This quotation accords perfectly with a passage taken from the *Travels*³ of Nicolo di Conti:

OF THE RIVER AND CITY OF ARA AND OF A MERRY
CUSTOM WHICH IS THERE TO BE MET WITH

"He came there upon a merry custom, and if only to make us laugh, he could not refrain from telling all that he had seen and heard of it. There are there certain old women whose only means of livelihood is the hawking of little gold, silver or brass bells, as small as little nuts, and very artfully wrought. When a man is of an age to make use of a woman, or when he would marry, they proceed to trig out his member, by putting the said jingle-bells between the skin and the flesh; for otherwise, he would be refused as a husband. Individuals, according to their quality, purchase bells of gold or silver; and the same women who hawk them come to lift up his skin for him in various places. After the jingle-bells have been inserted and the incision has been sewed up, the wound heals in a few days. Some of them put in a dozen or more, as suits them best; and then, they sew it so well that within a few days all is healed. The men who are thus fitted out are in the greatest grace and favor with the ladies; and many of them, as they go walking down the street, are proud of letting the sound of their bells be heard. He himself was greatly besought by the same old women to let them trig him out in the same fashion; but he would never consent to such a novelty, which meant his own pain to provide sport and pleasure for others." ⁴

And in the manuscripts of Pigafetta, preserved in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, we find: ⁵

³ The *Viaggi*.

⁴ A number of lines are missing here. This is a more decently phrased abridgement of the author's account of the custom in question. If that custom impressed one who had seen it at first hand as being strange, how much stranger must it seem to us. He attributed it to the lustfulness of the Indian women; and any one who has read, in travel narratives, of the potent and perilous expedients which their fancy had contrived, will not find the thing at all impossible. Read Amerigo Vespucci's letter to Ramusio (I., 131), and Varo (*Recherches philos. sur les Améric.*).

⁵ *Zebu*, p. 94.

"All of them, large and small, have the penis perforated near the glans, through which is passed a small gold or pewter cylinder, of about the diameter of a goose-feather, a contraption which has two sorts of heads, sometimes a kind of rayed star, and sometimes a small disk, like the head of a large nail. This little cylinder, however, leaves a free passage-way for the urine. This was a thing so strange that I could not believe it, and many a time did I ask to be shown it with my own eyes. In the old men as in the young, the cylinder or star is never removed; and they say that their wives would have it so, would have them employ a certain art in the matter, especially seeing that it does not impede the act of generation; and they educate their daughters to it from infancy. Nevertheless, in spite of these weird impediments, the women liked us better than they did their own men."

North and Candish, who sailed these seas in 1606, wrote of having seen the same thing, but they do not make note of the fact that the little cylinder may be removed, looking upon it as an instrument of infibulation, invented with the object of restraining males from vice against nature, a vice to which they were addicted. (*Histoire des Voyages*, X., 357.) It should be stated that this custom came to be abandoned, since recent navigators make no mention of it, although they do speak of a variety of circumcision, in use in the South Sea Islands and differing from the Jewish form, and of a species of infibulation.⁶

At another point in the Pigafetta manuscripts (p. 173), we read:

"Yet other extravagant things our old pilot related. He told of how the youths of Java bind certain jingle-bells between the head and prepuce of the penis . . ."

The following is a Spanish account:⁷

"The natives of the Painted Islands, especially the women, are extremely vicious and sensual; and mischievousness has led them to invent certain crude forms of intercourse be-

⁶ Cook, II., *Woy*, Vol. V., 241; Paw. Rech., *loc. cit.*, Part IV.

⁷ Morga, 145 (Hackel 304).

tween men and women, forms to which they have grown accustomed. From boyhood, the men have an artificial perforation in their virile member, near the head, and into it they insert a serpent's fang or a bit of metal or of ivory, running through the opening a small bar of suitable size to prevent it from healing over; and with this contrivance in place, they have intercourse with the women, nor are they able to remove it for some time after coitus; they take a vicious delight in it, despite the fact that it causes them to shed blood and is otherwise injurious. These contrivances are known as *sagras*, and there are very few of them left since the natives turned Christian; they now feel that they ought to leave them off and not consent to their use, and this has in large part remedied matters."

Lindschotten (German translation by J. v. Bry, Frankfurt, 1613) states that in Pegu, one or two shells, of the size of small nuts, are worn on the member, between the skin and the flesh, and that they make a very pleasing sound. He adds that they have the advantage of impeding sodomy, a vice to which the natives are much disposed. He goes on most naïvely to relate how the women go about nude, with no covering for their genitals beyond the tiniest of aprons, which gaps apart as they walk, leaving everything visible, all this being designed so to excite the men as to keep them away from *the vice of sodomy*.

Jagor communicates this other passage, taken from the Travels of Carletti (*Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti*, Firenze, 1701, p. 148):

"These Bisayos races⁸ are all very much given to the pleasures of Venus, and their women are not less amorous than they are beautiful. With their women, the Bisayos disport themselves in divers strange and diabolic fashions. There is one mode in particular which I should not dare relate to Your Highness, for fear of being held a liar, had I not seen it with my own eyes. Led by curiosity and a desire to convince myself, after I had spent a little money, I was shown enough to persuade me that what I had been told was deserving of credence. The fact is that the majority of these Bisayos, through an invention of the

⁸ In the Philippines.

Devil, and out of desire to confer a diabolic pleasure upon their women, are accustomed to have their virile member pierced; and into this perforation, which is made a little above the middle, they insert a small leaden bar from one side to the other, to the end of which is attached a little leaden star, which whirls about, covering the whole of the member and protruding a trifle from the edges. Beneath this diminutive bolt, there is a hole through which is run a tiny wedge, to hold it firm so that it cannot slip off the member. So equipped, the men go to seek amusement with their wenches, causing the latter as much pain in the beginning as they give them pleasure in the end, after they have been thoroughly warmed up by the prickings of that star; the result is, they are in the beginning rebellious against that which they later long for. This mode of satisfying lust, they state, was invented by them for their health's sake, since they thereby have less occasion for draining their own vital forces, while at the same time leaving their inconceivably voluptuous mates thoroughly satisfied. For my own part, I think it is far more likely an invention of Old Saint Nick, which those wretches employ to prevent conception."

While speaking of artificial means for inducing lust, we may notice the custom observed in a number of Australian tribes and by the Woloff negroes of the Senegal region, who seek out young girls, below the age of puberty, in order that the pleasure may be increased by the disproportionate size of the genital organs. In Australia, the old men of the tribe, with their fingers and by the aid of special little sticks, are in the habit of gradually dilating the vaginas of the youngest girl-infants, that these latter may become the tools of lust.

In the Island of Ponape (Western Carolines), the small lips and the clitorises of young women are artificially stretched, undoubtedly for the increasing of sensual pleasure, lovers applying their teeth to these delicate organs, picking at them and elongating them ever more and more in the cause of lust. Kubary is responsible for the statement that some of them put morsels of fish into their women's vulvas, which they then leisurely lick out. This is done, especially, when they wish to have a son by the woman of their choice. The female becomes excited by this proceeding

and finally lets her urine go, and it is then that the husband mounts and fecundates her.

Upon such common ground as this, men of the purest Aryan stock and those of the lowest in the ethnic scale may clasp hands in bestial fraternity. If the fish in the vulva of a woman of Ponape is horror-inspiring, I can cite you the case, in our most civilized Europe, of a respectable French official who stuffed the vulva of his paramour with orange slices so that he might eat them out; while many others are fond of receiving upon their own nude bosoms their loved one's last digestive products.

Men, in their lustful fancy, have even gone so far as to eat coagulated sperm, or bread made upon their mistresses' nates.

"Have you done what certain women are in the habit of doing? They prostrate themselves face downwards, rumps up and uncovered, and have a loaf of bread made upon their nude nates; when it has been baked, they invite their husbands to come and eat it; they do this in order to inflame their men with a greater love for them. If you have done this, you shall do two years' penance, through the lawful feast-days." (Buchard, 12th Century.)

"A woman of whatever rank soever, forcibly polluting herself or fornicating with another woman: four years. A religious artificially polluting herself with another religious: seven years." (Ducange.)

"Artificially fornicating with a religious, seven years' penance."

In the ethnic history of lust, a chapter must be devoted to those perfumes preferred by men in the woman's genital parts. Most are content with the natural odor, but a number of peoples sprinkle the vulva with special scents. The Orient is the master of these arts; but many European ladies are in the habit of perfuming their entire body before going to a ball or to keep an amorous rendezvous.⁹

⁹ On the mysterious relations that exist between love and the olfactory sense, see Mantegazza, *Fisiologia dell' amore*, p. 174. A singular combination of nasal and sexual epicureanism is to be seen in the relic borne by a court lady in Brantome's day; it consisted in her dead husband's genitals, embalmed, perfumed, and encased in gilded silver.

Hartmann presented the Anthropological Society of Berlin, at its session of the 18th of October, 1873, with a number of perforated terra cotta vases which had been sent him by I. Hildebrandt. They are used by the Somali women to perfume their genitals, and are known in the Nubian language as *Kalenqul* or *Terenqul*. They are to be found even in the poorest huts. The perfume is manufactured by burning amber, from the opercula of a species of *Strombus* found in the Red Sea and known to the Arabs as *dufr*, and from the wood of the *Acacia vereck*. Ascherson notes in passing that these suffumigations are in use upon a vast scale in Abyssinia.¹⁰

St. Augustine accused the Manicheans of mingling semen with the Sacred Host and with their food.¹¹

"Upon which occasion. their chosen ones are constrained to observe some execrable superstition, such as partaking of a eucharist which has been strewn with human semen, in order that from it as from the other food they eat, the divine substance may be purged. . . . It accordingly follows that whatever food they take, eucharistic or other, is to be purged in the act by human or other semen."

In the shadow of St. Augustine's illustrious example, I may cite the wholly modern belief of certain prostitutes, who swallow human semen as a sure preventive of tuberculosis.

Among the contrivances for voluptuous pleasure are the aphrodisiacs, another page from ethonological history. In my *Hygiene of Love*, I have mentioned the lascivious arts taught by the great Avicenna. Dr. A. de Villeneuve, who has been so bold as to write of the recipes "*ad virgam erigendam*" (for producing an erection), goes on to cite those of Guillaume d'Aquitaine: "*Ut desiderium in coitu augmentetur*" ("for increasing desire in coitus"); "*Ut mulier habeat dulcedinem in coitu*" ("that the woman may have delight in intercourse").

Celsus states that the plants which stimulate the senses

¹⁰ Our friend, Issel, also has observed and described similar practices on the shores of the Red Sea, regions which he had visited with the eye of the naturalist.

¹¹ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—Cf. the scene in Huysmans' *La-bas*.

are the calamint, thyme, savory, hyssop, but above all, the calamint, as well as the rue and the onion. Horace's Canidia knew an aphrodisiac drink, the "*poculum desiderii*," or "cup of desire," as the poet puts it. Certain mineral waters were also believed to be endowed with aphrodisiac virtues. Martial recommends the use of bulbs (to be variously translated as onions, fungi, spices).

*Qui praestare virum Cipriae certamine nescit,
Manducet bulbos et bene fortis erit.
Languet anus; pariter bulbos ne mandere cesset,
Et tua ridebit praelia blanda Venus.*¹²

The history of the Flagellants sect, which came out in 1259, draws attention to another aphrodisiac, namely flagellation, one that is still known, to this day, to aged libertines and the impotent. The Abbé Boileau asserts that the Flagellants were in the habit of beating their sides, in order to arouse lively desires of an erotic nature, that they might acquire the greater merit in overcoming those desires:

"It follows that when the lumbar muscles are flayed with rods or whips, the vital spirits are aroused and salacious motor impulses stirred up in the neighborhood of the genital parts, and the mind and brain being fascinated with venereal images and temptations, the virtue of chastity must find itself hard pressed."

Pico della Mirandola, in his *Treatise against Astrologers*, describes a libertine who had himself beaten until the blood came, for the exquisite pleasure of the experience.

"His passions were never aroused, except when he was flogged; and he would insist upon this disgraceful proceeding being carried out as follows: he desired the most savage strokes, and would upbraid his flayer, should the latter prove remiss; nor was the fellow's task completely fulfilled until he had drawn blood, but he must lay on ever more

¹² "He who is unable to show himself a man in the Cyprian's joustings, let him eat of bulbs, and he will be doughty enough. In the same way, should your anus languish, do not cease eating of bulbs, and charming Venus will once more smile on your frays."

violently with his lash on the poor wretch's hapless limbs." ¹³

It is told of the Marquis de Sade that he was in the habit of slashing the woman's pubic parts, that he would first have her forcibly bound, and would then make an incision into some vein, his passion thus spending itself in an excess of lust and cruelty. Very similar facts, and not few in number, are to be found in the saddening annals of human justice and legal medicine.¹⁴

In all the quotations which have been given above, with the exception of Heureau de Villeneuve, who gives signs of understanding the subject better than any of the others, all the travel-writers blame the woman's lascivious nature as solely responsible, through suggestion, for the invention of all these excitatory contrivances. I, however, am convinced that it is to men that the credit for such inventions must go; for if these contrivances increase the woman's pleasure, the man still gets his full share of enjoyment out of the *ampallang*, inasmuch as it tends spasmodically to restrict the vagina, which in warm countries, and in the case of organisms debilitated by excessive temperature, frequently tends to assume an alarming diameter. Nor can it be denied that one's pleasure is increased a hundredfold at witnessing the pleasure of her who shares with us the amorous battle.

I happen to know that there has been introduced into Europe, and is in use there today, an *ampallang* that is not so cruel in character as that of the Dayaks, but which is equally well adapted to purposes of debauchery. It is said that, already at Paris, they are binding the member with downy strips from the feathers of a goose, and that rings and india-rubber stars are for sale for equipping the masculine lance and rendering it more pleasing to the daughters of Eve.

In addition to the desire for increasing voluptuous pleasure, not the least of the motives behind such diabolic in-

¹³ See Note Q, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹⁴ See, on this head, D. T. MOREAU (De Tours), *Des aberrations du sens génésique*, Paris, 1880.

ventions is, we are inclined to believe, the whimsical temptation to try out new things, and to play with organs which, during life's fertile period, are the object of so much curiosity to both the sexes. In proof of this, the following facts may be adduced, among many which might be cited; they were published some years ago now, by Dr. Dumarest, in the *Lyon Médical*:

"G—, married man of fifty-nine years, September, 1871.—A week ago, for a purpose by no means original, he inserted the penis into a nuptial ring.—Upon his visit, he was found with the ring fastened below the glans of the prepuce.—A considerable tumescence was perceptible; the prepuce was in a state of paraphimosis, and the strangulation exerted by the ring had produced an uneven ulcer, quite deep on the upper side of the penis, superficial in the lower portion. Urination difficult but still possible. The ring was sawed in two, after which cicatrization was rapid, and two days later, the patient left cured.

"In the case of this patient, notwithstanding the violent character and long duration of the strangulation, while there was an ulceration, there was no gangrene.—Gangrene of the penis from mechanical causes is rare, where it is an effect of artificial strangulation rather than produced by paraphimosis.—Indeed, the ulceration caused by constriction of the penis may frequently be seen to invade not merely the dorsal portion of that member, but also the lower parts, until it finally sets up a urinary fistula, but without gangrene setting in.—M. Laroyenne has twice specially observed ulcerations of this sort on timid boys who had bound their penises in order to keep from wetting the bed.—Our patient is a proof that gangrene does not appear so readily as most authors would have us believe."

There is no need to add that the penis suffers serious harm and mortification sets in, if the strangulation is of long duration and extremely energetic in character.—As to paraphimosis, it is generally assumed that it may readily be complicated by gangrene; where the truth is, this complication is exceedingly rare.—M. Laroyenne has never observed it.—In all cases, ulcerations are readily formed in the prepuce and on the cuticle; in the lower portion, the ulceration assumes a markedly grave character, if the

urethral canal is involved; for it may become the point of departure for a urethral fistula, for a direct urinary infiltration, or finally, for a future stricture. But the circulation is very rarely so inhibited that, owing to the mere fact of strangulation, mortification of the glans or the cavernous bodies at once takes place.—It is, therefore, without good reason that M. Demarquay and many others with him admit it in phimosis, rather than in paraphimosis.

Cases of stricture or strangulation of the penis by foreign bodies are not rare in science; they are indeed widespread. We may limit ourselves to citing merely one or two.

M. Demarquay reports two of them. The first had been published by M. Leteinturier (Haure), a case in which the insertion of the penis into a ring was followed by mortification of the entire cuticle of the penis and of the anterior portion of the scrotum; it was a countryman who had played this trick upon himself, as a bit of sorcery, in fulfilment of a love vow laid upon him by his sweetheart.

For the second instance, we are indebted to Bourgioss, who did not hesitate to cut off a portion of the corona of the glans, in order the easier to get rid of the constricting ring.—It was a radical method; the patient was left with a few scars on his prepuce and the back of the penis, but was cured at the end of two months.

N. Guillot had similarly reported the story of a baker, who in the first months of his marriage had permitted his wife to put about his penis the wedding ring which she wore on her finger. This ring was of gold, and the pharmacist who was called in had the ingenious inspiration to dissolve it in a mercury solution.

In 1868, M. Guibot communicated to the Society of Hospitals the case he had observed of a man of fifty who had inserted his penis all the way to the base into a series of seven very tight and strong brass rings, with the purpose, so he said, of procuring for himself moments of pleasure. These rings had remained in place for eleven hours, the penis was already indurated, cyanotic, extremely swollen, and of a gangrenous hue. After any number of attempts to get them off, the rings were finally sawed in two, one

after another. Within a week, all local traces had disappeared.

In conclusion, I may mention two well known cases: First, that of the soldier whom Larrey found with his penis snared in the tube of his bayonet; and second, that of the man in the bath tub who was found with his penis up the faucet.

V

THE PERVERSIONS OF LOVE

Physiology and Pathology of Eroticism—Hygiene and Ethics—Sources of Sexual Aberration—Masturbation—Frequency Among Women in Polygamous Countries—A Racial Characteristic—Obscene Custom of the Moabites—Mutual Onanism—Lesbianism and Tribadism—A Curious Case—Frequency of Tribadism in the Orient—Among European Prostitutes—In Ancient Greece and Rome—Sodomy, Male and Female—Practice of Homosexuality in Carthage—In Crete—In Euboea—Perversions of Julius Caesar—Tiberius—Nero's Orgies—Roman Debauchery—Sodomy in America—In the Orient—In Europe—The Cinaedi—Pederasty—Anatomical Explanation—Psychic Sodomy—Fetichism—Bestiality—The Sacred Goat at Mendes—Female Bestiality.

THE naturalistic psychologist must not hesitate to set foot in the human mire; it is, rather, his duty to study it, inasmuch as all that is human falls within his province, the lofty and the base, the sublime and the revolting. It is not possible to ameliorate man's condition until after all the possibilities in the case have been studied. It is not by means of declamatory phillipics, nor by casting over it a hypocritic veil, that human abjectness may be done away with; this last may only be accomplished through an indulgent and dispassionate study of the causes of that abjectness.

It is impossible to erect the boundaries between love's physiology and its pathology. The highest rungs of eroticism may be the first steps on the ladder of perversion; and amid that hurricane of the senses, compounded of passion and imagination, in which a man and a woman who possess each other with desire are wrapped, it is only the sophist's casuistry which can distinguish that which is good

from that which is evil. And even where this good and this evil are concerned, there is room for difference of opinion, according as one considers the hygienic or the moral aspect of the problem. It is true that with a more reasonable and scientific morality, such as that which is to come, hygiene and ethics ought to go perfectly in accord; but up to the present time, the two are very frequently at daggers' points and in contradiction to each other, a certain proof either that hygiene is ignorant or that morality is false.

Putting to one side, however, those dimly distinguishable forms which serve as a connecting link between ideal love and the most perverted lust, we have some very well known forms of sensual aberration, which have special names and quite distinct characteristics. It is our duty to study these as rapidly and delicately as possible, touching them as lightly as we should a painful open wound.

The abstruse and shameful aberrations of physical love all come from one of two sources: from the difficulty or impossibility of satisfying in a physiological manner the need for the sexual embrace; or from the desire to provide new pleasures, differing from those already known. This, in plain but strictly scientific language, is the psychology of all the sexual perversions from Sodom to Lesbos, and from Babylon to the Isle of Capri.

Masturbation is a thing so natural and spontaneous in the man who is without a woman, and the woman who is without a man, that it tends to spring up at all times and in all countries. It is, nonetheless, a perversion that is more common among highly civilized peoples, inasmuch as with them there are many causes, moral, economic, and religious, which impede or render supremely difficult the coming together of the two sexes. Where bodies are nude and love is free or very easy, masturbation is almost wholly unknown; I have been able to verify this circumstance by contrasting, close up, in America and in India, the adjacent native and European societies. Colleges, monasteries, schools, all institutions which bring young men together, are the breeding-places and seminaries of masturbation.

With the possible exception of those countries where polygamy prevails, masturbation is everywhere a good deal more common in the man than in the woman, for many reasons, but chiefly this one, that in the male the secretion of spermatozoa renders pollution constantly necessary; and where the individual is not sufficiently virtuous to be satisfied with spontaneous nocturnal emissions, his hand comes to supply the lack of a woman. To this are to be added the constant and formidable erections in the male who is past the age of puberty and the numerous occasions for rubbing against the penis. It is only in polygamous countries that the woman, in the course of her long periods of idleness and the prolonged abstinences imposed upon her in the harem or the zenana, at once learns to masturbate.

Ethnically speaking, masturbation is a true physical and moral disease, which tends to leave a mark of abjectness and decadence with a people or with a race. It debases the man in what should be his poetic and his ardent years, by substituting for the gloriously violent combats of love the easy and secret pleasures of the hand or of an implement yet more vile; as the result of this comes vileness, hypocrisy, brutalisation, and the prostitution of character. A hundred, a thousand times better is the lust which lies in a love that is at least shared, which, even in its extremes, encounters a certain restraint in the complete satisfaction of a natural need naturally shared between two beings.

The sexual embrace very rarely slays with its excesses; whereas masturbation is often suicide, and when the organism does not die, the character and dignity do, the light of amorous idealism is extinguished, and every fibre of manly resolution is obliterated. If an inhabitant from another planet were to come down from above, and if he could contemplate with eagle's eye, upon the psychologic chart of our planet, the varying characteristics of the human race, he would certainly jot down in his note book, among the moral characteristics of Europeans and their overseas colonists, this stigma: *race of masturbators*. And it may be, that winged contemplator would become aware of an odor of moral decay, of a moldy, sexual smell on all sides, with

thousands of young men and girls spilling in the sheets or in dark passage-ways mankind's sovereign life-giving fluid. Until such time as this convulsed and scrofulous civilization of ours shall learn to give to every man born of woman a loaf of bread and a woman, the nauseous stench of solitary vice will continue to contaminate every vein of our body social, transforming love's joyous grape-cluster into a handful of musty corn, devoured by cryptogamia.

It appears that the Moabites were accustomed to masturbating obscenely in chorus, as they danced about the incandescent statue of Moloch, after the seven bronze mouths of the god had devoured the offerings of the faithful, offerings which consisted of flour, turtle-doves, lambkins, rams, calves, bulls, and young lads. Any one who has read the Bible must remember the terrible curses hurled by Moses at those Hebrews who fornicated with Moloch. Baal-Phegor, too, or Belphegor, who was the favorite divinity of the Madianites, was received with a fanatic enthusiasm by the Jews, and his cult was not less obscene than the rites of Moloch.

Solitary lust tends to approach the embrace, when it seeks a lustful ally. Man may masturbate man, and woman may do the same to woman. In the former instance, there is merely an exchange of manual labor; but in the latter, the situation is more complicated and there is room for refinements to enter; owing to the special structure of the female genitals and the wayward character of the feminine imagination, lust is readily turned into a proteiform and special vice. Thus, woman may simply reciprocate, by giving to her companion the pleasure which she herself has received; but more often, she employs her tongue, and then we have *cunnilingus* and *Lesbian* love, so named from the Isle of Lesbos, to which historic tradition assigns the origin of a perversion which, in all truth, must have been born along with womankind. Another form of reciprocal masturbation in women occurs when a woman possessing an exceptionally long clitoris is thereby enabled to simulate the sexual embrace with another woman. It is this form of vice which may more accurately be termed *Tribadism*, the practitioners

of which were known to the Latins as *frictrices* or *subigatrices*. Today, however, tribadism is synonymous with physical love between two women, whether such love finds satisfaction in one or another mode.

The most surprising circumstance in connection with modern tribadism is one cited by Duhousset.—Two women friends had been satisfying themselves in this manner for a long while, when one of them married, without however breaking off voluptuous relations with the other woman. It happened, then, that the one who had remained unmarried became pregnant, possibly for the reason that her companion, without being aware of it, had spilled into her vagina the husband's semen. This singular occurrence, the credibility of which must remain a matter that concerns M. Duhousset, was reported on the 15th of February, 1877, to the Anthropologic Society of Paris. I myself have known two Lesbian friends who had relations from time to time, one of them possessing a clitoris that was something like five or six centimeters long.

Dr. Paul Eram, who for long years practised medicine in the Far East, states that tribadism "*est une condition extrêmement commune chez les jeunes filles en Orient*" ("is a condition extremely rare among young women of the Orient"). And elsewhere:

"In order to form a general idea of its frequency among young girls of the Orient, one has but to reflect upon their lack of exercise, their idle and sedentary lives, their boredom, and above all, the over-confidence and credulity of their mothers, who fail to provide any kind of supervision whatsoever over their daughter's occupations in her hours of solitude."¹

Among the Khoikhoins (Nama Hottentots), masturbation among the youngest girl-infants is so common that it may almost be looked upon as a natural vice. No secret is made of it, and there is allusion to it in the folk-stories and fables of the country.²

Tegg relates various cases of matrimony between women.

¹ Paul Eram, *L'accouchement en Orient*, Paris, 1860, p. 362.

² Gustav Fritsch, *Eingeborene Sud-Afrikas*, Breslau, 1870.

He sees in them only cases of fraud, but it is more likely that they are instances of Lesbian passion.³ On the 5th of July, 1777, there was brought before the courts of London a woman who, wearing male attire, had been three times married to other women. She was exposed in the pillory, to the scornful gaze of all the other members of her sex, so that they might recognize her in the future, and was thereafter condemned to six months in prison. In 1773, another woman disguised as a man paid court to a lady, aspiring to the latter's hand; but the daring imposture did not succeed.

The most extraordinary case cited by Tegg is that of two women who lived together as husband and wife for the course of thirty-six years. The *wife* revealed the secret, but only on her death-bed, to relatives.

Occasionally, in tribadism, there is question merely of physical pleasure, pure and simple, the woman enjoying the voluptuous caress of another woman's tongue, just as she does in the case of a man. But more often, there is associated with lustful desire, a true and ardent passion, one which makes all the demands that true love does, and which is capable of all the latter's jealousies. Parent-Duchâtelet speaks at length of the love-letters written by such a pair, and describes the jealous scenes and criminal consequences of such a feminine attachment. For my part, I knew two young and beautiful girls, one of them blonde, the other brunette, who were ardently in love with each other, while being exceedingly cold and utterly without volition where the embraces of men were concerned.

Tribadism, which is common in the Orient among women of the harem, is very frequent among European prostitutes, who often have a lover of the same sex as themselves, the only one to give them a real sexual thrill. Among those who market their love, this other passion is strengthened by the absolute indifference which they feel toward the men to whom they abandon themselves; their erotic sensitivity would appear to be restricted to that narrow province of pleasure afforded by the clitoris.

Even among our own women folk, this vice is by no means

³ William Tegg, *The Knot Tied*, etc., London, 1878, 2nd Edition, p. 250.

rare. I have known a number, married and with children, who seek pleasure only of a woman friend or a female lover, whom they passionately adore, and of whom they are very, very jealous. More often than once, Lesbianism brings with it domestic unhappiness; and it behooves the married man to keep a sharp eye out for those strange and hidden manifestations of lasciviousness, which, taken in the beginning, may be dominated and overcome by physiologic love. Where the vice is of long standing, a cure is all but impossible; for the reason that the clitoris, with prolonged exercise of its nerves, becomes unduly sensitive and over-developed, and all normal pleasure is thereafter a pale and colorless thing, compared to the Lesbian's convulsive spasms. The husband then may find himself in a cruel dilemma, having to choose between loathing and contemning the companion of his loves, or himself acquiring a vice, which alone can satisfy and make her happy. A wholesome, honest upbringing may, however, almost always forestall such an aberration, the fruit of that unhealthy hypocrisy with which we are used to surrounding the mysteries of love.⁴

Love's most shameful phase, shameful above all, is sodomy, which a man may practice either upon a woman, or upon a person of his own sex. Sodomy with a woman is sufficiently common, and is born of a curious desire for new experi-

⁴ According to a number of commentators, the emblematic spits and other golden votive offerings hung up by the Greek prostitutes in the temples of Venus were none other than instruments of female masturbation. Barbers, perfumers and aged prostitutes in ancient Rome were in the habit of hawking phallic excitatories for impotent males. All my readers will recall the terrible passage from Petronius: "*Profert Enothea scorteum fascinum, quod ut oleo atque urticae trito circumdedit semine, paulatim coepit inserere ano meo.*" ("Enothea brought out the leather phallus, which, rubbed with oil and nettle-seed, she proceeded to insert gradually up my anus.")

The making of Lesbian or Phœnician love implied an acquaintance with oral masturbation and similar forms of debauchery. Lesbian love was common among the women of the Greek *dicteria*, but inspired horror in men. Greek literature has preserved for us certain dialogues giving an intimate picture of this form of vice against nature. (Iacroy, Vol. I., *passim*.) Lesbian love was the term applied to that between two women, who employed their mouths; while the woman who prostituted her lips to please the man was known as a *fellatrix*; in the case of children or slaves, they were *fellatores*. One satirist, horrified by the widespread corruption of Rome, exclaimed: "*O noble descendants of the goddess Venus, soon thou shalt find no lips chaste enough to utter prayers to thee!*"

ence, or is resorted to with a Malthusian objective in view, that of limiting the progeny. It is impossible to draw up even approximate statistics as to this vice, for the reason that it remains hidden among the mysteries of the marriage-bed, and, where it is indulged in with the consent of both parties, never comes before a court of justice, which would be highly embarrassed at having to deal with such a case.⁵ The woman, in this variety of sodomy, is passive, the act is a painful one to her, and she yields to the shameful proceeding only out of weakness or a passion for sacrifice. Not rarely, however, she actually enjoys and even invites it, being unable to achieve a venereal orgasm in any other fashion. I know a young prostitute who was in the habit of selling her body daily, but without ever experiencing any pleasure in the act; when she happened to meet a man she liked and for whom she felt the vague stirrings of desire, she would ask him to alter his approach, that they might share the chalice of lustful pleasure. This circumstance, rare it is true, but which does occur, will serve to cast a light upon the lurid mystery of masculine sodomy.⁶

Love between males is one of the most terrifying facts to be met with in human psychology; it has always been, and still is, in all countries, a vice that is a good deal more common than it is thought to be. Let us look first at the facts, and make our comments afterwards.

Carthage was famous for vice contrary to nature, and the Carthaginians applauded in the male his prowess in the practice of such vices. Salvianus, a preacher of that time, has this to say: "*et illi se magis virilis fortitudinis esse crederent, qui maximi viros foemini usus probrositate fregissent*" ("and they believed themselves to be displaying the greater masculine valor, the more they lent themselves to these disgraceful practices characteristic of the female").

According to mythologic tradition, pederasty goes back to the time of Orpheus and the Thracians.

⁵ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—As a matter of fact, in America, at least, it is sometimes alleged by wives in their divorce suits.

⁶ See Note R, in *Notes and Additions*.

*"Ille etiam Thracum populis fuisse auctor amorem
 "In teneros transferre mares, citraque juventam
 "Breve ver aetatis et primos carpere flores." 7*
 Ovid.

Aristotle tells us that this vice was authorized by law in the Island of Crete, in order to prevent an excessive increase in population. Athenaeus speaks of the sodomy of the Cretans, but attributes the vice as well to the Chalcidians of Eubœa. Lycophron accuses Achilles of having assassinated upon the altar of Apollo the young Troilus, who had refused to consent to his immodest behests. Sodomy was, of a certainty, a Greek vice; for that people carried it even into Olympus, making guilty of it Jove and Ganymede, Apollo and Hyacinth, Hercules and Hylas. Sophocles and Aeschylus went so far as to speak of it in their tragedies, and Anacreon hymned Baihyllus. Even the godlike Socrates was a lover of young boys.

Rome is not at all unworthy of her great teacher in this field. Caesar sold the first fruits of his youth to Nicomedes, King of Bithynia; Horace sung of his masculine loves, Ligurinus, Gyges, Lyciscus, etc. Virgil made immortal, under the name of Alexis, his love for the young Alexander. The Roman populace thought of Augustus, when it heard spoken upon the stage the famous line

"Videsne ut Cinaedus orbem digito temperet?" 8

A Roman emperor reared statues and temples to his paramour; and of Tiberius, the immortal historian wrote: "he would take infants not yet weaned and put them to his private parts as to a teat, holding that, by reason of their tender years, they were the better adapted to this variety of lust . . . and at the sacrifice, smitten by the face of the officiating priest, he scarcely could wait until the divine service was over, but must, at once and on the spot, seduce and defile him with his penis; and he took care to do the same

7 "For he, the Thracian people's sire, was the one to bear love over fresh-gleaming seas and pluck the first flowers of youth's brief spring."

8 "Dost thou see how Cinaedus governs the orb with his finger?"

to the priest's brother, a flute-player, that the two of them might have the same sin with which to reproach each other."

Of Caligula, what Ausonius has to tell us is enough:

*"Tres uno in lecto; stuprum duo perpetiuntur
Et duo committunt; quatuor esse reor.
Falleris, extremis ad singula crimina, et illum
Bis numeres medium qui facit, et patitur."*⁹

Heliogabalus is portrayed for us by Lampridius in a single phrase: "*quis enim ferre possit principem, per cuncta cava corporis libidinem recipientem?*" ("For who could endure a prince, all of the cavities of whose body are receptacles for lust?")

Nero had himself wed to Doryphorus, amid nude women and lubricious dances: "Where licit or illicit depravity was concerned, he left no vice untried that afforded an opportunity for corruption. . . . He would invade the private parts of men and women bound to the stake, and then at the proper point would finish off with the freedman, Doryphorus."

Vice readily became a passion; for, indeed, Heliogabalus "*sic amavit* (the eunuch Hierocles) *ut eidem inguina oscularetur, floralia sacra se asserens celebrare*" ("so loved the eunuch Hierocles that he was in the habit of kissing his privates and of decreeing floral festivals in his honor").

The entire Roman world was then but one great orgy; and we find Juvenal describing in this manner the aphrodisiac dances which were given in the theatre, and which were designed to spur the erotic chord to its highest degree of vibration:

*"Forsitan expectes ut Gaditana canoro
Incipiat prurire choro, plausuque probatae
Ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae:
Irritamentum Veneris languentis et acres
Divitis urticae: major tamen ista voluptas*

⁹ "Three in one bed; two suffer and two commit defilement; that makes four, you say; but you are wrong; the two outside ones are single in crime, and the one in the middle you are to count twice, since he both does and endures."

*Alterius sexus, magis ille extenditur et mox
Auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur."*¹⁰

If we pass from Greco-Roman antiquity to the Gauls, to America, or to those savage tribes which are living today, we shall not find sodomy any the less widespread.

The Gauls indulged in libidinous orgies, in which sodomy played a part. (Diodorus of Sicily.)

In certain northern parts of Mexico marriages were performed between men who, clad like women, were forbidden to bear arms. At Tamaulitas, according to Gomara, cases of prostitution occurred in which men took the part of women. Diaz tells us that along the coast of old Mexico, pederasty was a common vice, but that it was looked upon as a crime and severely punished by law.

Dufлот found vice against nature to be very common among the aborigines of California. Pederasty was also general in Nicaragua. Among the natives of Panama, the first discoverers found pederasty common, but looked upon as an abominable vice. And similarly, along the shores of ancient Peru, in the region which is now Guayaquil, it appears that unnatural vice was very prevalent.

Many travelers speak of such vice among the aborigines of North America, where men were to be seen dressed as women and remaining at home to do woman's work, this indicating all too plainly to what use these abject creatures were put. From Alaska to Darien were to be seen young men brought up and dressed as women and living in concubinage with lords and princes.

The Aleutians and the Codiaks were also pederasts, and the same would seem to have been true of the inhabitants of Nutka. The old time travellers frequently mention unnatural vice among the Caribs of the *tierra firme*; but at Cumanea, it would seem that sodomy was abhorred. In

¹⁰ "Are you perhaps waiting for Gaditana to begin her prurient motions in the melodious chorus, and for the girls, showered with applause, to fall to the ground with writhing hips? Languishing Venus' spur, Dives' prickly nettles; the pleasure grows and spreads, until very soon, by eye and ear conceived, the fluid flows."

Madagascar, also, unnatural vice was not lacking, as is evidenced by native male dancers and singers clad as women.¹¹

In the Orient, and for that matter in civilized Europe as well, women or boys are offered for purposes of pleasure according to the taste of the pleasure seeker; and in certain Italian cities, the sodomists have a sign language, with which in the public highway they express their desires, indicating whether the verb love with them is to be actively or passively conjugated (*cinaedi* or *pathici*).¹² Nor is this shameful, nay infamous, practice restricted to the most depraved classes of society; it extends upward into the spheres of wealth and intelligence. In the brief course of my own experience, among sodomists who were more or less scandalous in their conduct, I have known a French journalist, a German poet, an Italian politician, and a Spanish juriconsult, all men of exquisite taste and the highest culture!

How in the name of heaven does it come that this form of lust is so frequently to be met with? In order that I might be able to give a proper answer to this question, which one must blush in putting to himself, I have made a thoroughgoing study of this problem over a period of years, and I believe that I have solved it.

Anatomicians are acquainted with the spinal nervous structure which has to do with lustful desire, and they know how intimate a relationship there is between those nerves distributed in the intestinal and rectal tract and those which run down to the genital organs. I personally believe, it is by an anatomic anomaly that the sensual nerve branches are deflected to the rectum; this explains how it is their excitation produces in the *pathici* a venereal orgasm, which in ordinary cases may only come through the love organs. This would seem to be established by the finding of women who are *cinaedae*, and others who, in lesbianism, love to have the rectum excited with the finger; there are also all those cases in which an erection in a man can only be produced by the introduction of foreign bodies into the anus. I very well recall a great writer, who confessed to me that it was im-

¹¹ See Note T, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹² See Note U, in *Notes and Additions*.

possible for him to say whether he derived a greater pleasure from the sexual embrace or from the act of defecation.

It is easier to explain the voluptuous inclination of the *cinaedi*, who derive from the act a true erotic pleasure but only by a filthy path, one selected for the greater narrowness of diameter it affords. This explains why it is that in many countries sodomy is practiced only upon boys, which has led to giving the name of *pederasty* to the practice; it at the same time goes to account for the fact that this vice is a good deal more common in warm countries, where the woman is often dishearteningly large in her organ, and where nudity is ever visible and women are easy to be had, all of which circumstances are but spurs to lust.

Many times, however, sodomy is not of peripheral origin, but has its seat in the nervous centers; and so, I think we should distinguish a *peripheral* or *anatomic* sodomy (the latter due to an abnormal distribution of nerves), a *lustful* sodomy (due to a desire for womb-narrowness), and finally, a *psychic* sodomy.¹³ I have often had occasion to study this

¹³ The author of the Voyage of Anacharsis states that the laws of ancient Greece afforded a protection for prostitutes, by combatting pederasty.—Aspasia, the lover of Pericles, of Socrates, and of Alcibiades, encouraged masculine love between these last two friends of hers. Plato has preserved for us the fragment of a dialogue between Socrates and Aspasia: "Socrates, I have read in your heart," Aspasia says; "it burns for the son of Dinomachus and of Clinias. Hear me; if you would that the handsome Alcibiades should requite you with love, be receptive to the counsels of my tenderness."—"Oh inebriating words!" Socrates exclaims, "Oh, what transports! A cold sweat trickles down my body; my eyes are filled with tears."—"Cease sighing," she interrupts him, "but, imbued with a sacred enthusiasm, lift your mind to the divinely drunken heights of poesy; that enchanting art shall open for you the gates of your soul. Gentle poesy is a charm for the intelligence, the ear is a pathway to the heart, and the heart is the road to all the rest. . . ."—In the days when Latin civilization was at its height, pederasty was a tolerated form of prostitution or of slavery. Freeborn citizens might not yield to such wishes on the part of the libertine, but freedmen and slaves were even bound to do so.—Masculine prostitution at Rome was a more ardent and widespread phenomenon than was female prostitution; and obscene traces of it are to be found in the verses of Horace, of Catullus, of Martial, and even of Virgil.—The ignoble Greek poet, Sotades, gave his name to a form of poetry inspired by masculine love.—The barbershops in ancient Rome were frequently masculine brothels. "Their business being frequently not the trimming of beards, the cutting of hair, or the shaving of the face; but they rather give themselves to those rites, if I may so phrase it for decency's sake, such as the *Cinaedi* are in the habit of practicing under cover of the shades of night" (Douza's commentary on Petronius).—Moses is perhaps the sole legislator prior to Christ to cast an anathema upon pederasty.—At Constantinople, even under Constantine, there were cases of prostitution

last form, which is especially common among intelligent, cultivated and often neurasthenic men.

A young man who was as chaste as could be desired, and of high social rank, once consulted me. It was with an unspeakable horror that, upon reaching the age of puberty, he became aware of the fact that he amorously desired per-

in which men sold their bodies like women.—In France, following the Crusades, the vice of pederasty came into general use; and a poet of the period, Gautier de Coincy, Prior of the Abbey of Saint Médard of Soissons, gives us a picture of life in the monasteries that is far from edifying:

"La Grammaire hic à hic accouple

Mais Nature maldit le couple.

La mort perpetuel engendre

Cil qui aime masculin genre

Plus que le féminin ne face,

Et Dieu de son livre l'efface.

Nature rit, si com moi semble,

Quand hic et hoc joignent ensemble,

Mais hic et hic, chose est perdue,

Nature en est tost esperdue. . . ."

("The Grammar couples *hic* with *hic*, but Nature curses the copulation. Perpetual death he engenders for himself who loves the masculine gender more than he does the feminine one, and God will efface him from his book. Nature smiles, I take it, when *hic* and *hoc* are joined together; but *hic* and *hic*, the thing is hopeless, and Nature gives up hope. . . .")—Philippe le Beau took energetic measures to combat sodomy; and the famous trial of the Templars brought horrible things to light. The latter were permitted to make love to one another, but not to violate, technically, their vow of chastity. Following is the deposition of Jean de Saint-Just: "He therewith made plain what carnal intercourse there might be, active or passive, between brothers of the order; this, however, he had not indulged in, nor had he been called upon to do so, nor did he know nor had he heard of any brothers of the order having committed the sin in question.—He thereupon stated that the one vowed to chastity was called upon to abstain from women, in order that he might not bring the order into disrepute; notwithstanding, in accordance with prescribed rule, if he was possessed of natural heat, he might cool himself by means of intercourse, active or passive, with brothers of the order; this nevertheless he had not done, nor did he believe that it was done in the order."—Lacroix places much blame upon those Italians who accompanied Catherine de Medici into France, holding them responsible for the diffusion of sodomy in that country. It is true enough that, at the period in question, the penalty for sodomy in our country was no more than a fine of 36 tornesi and 9 ducats, while in France, the same vice was punishable with the stake, although this was seldom put into effect.—It is curious to peruse the discussions of the confessors on the subject of the sinful distinction between sodomy practiced with a man and as practiced with a woman. (See Jean Benedicti, *Somme des Péchés et le Remède d'iceux*, Lyon, 1584.) Sanchez held sodomy between man and wife to be a mortal sin, while the Jewish rabbis, on the other hand, permitted it: "Two women having appeared at the synagogue to inquire with regard to sodomitic relations with their husbands, this response was given them by the rabbis: that the man was the woman's lord and master, and hence might do with her as he saw fit, just as one who had purchased a fish; he might make use of either her anterior or posterior parts, according to his own good will and pleasure."

sons of his own sex, while remaining wholly insensible to the seductions of a woman. He would at once experience an erection and violent desires, whenever he embraced another lad; but when taken to houses of prostitution that he might there admire and possess women, he remained like ice under the most ardent of provocations. This poor lad, who had never once yielded to his perverse inclinations, but had combatted them with all the strength of a vigorous will power and a noble mind, confessed to me that he meant to kill himself, unless he could succeed in bringing his erotic instincts back into the proper physiologic paths. As to whether or not he achieved his purpose, I cannot say, for I never saw him again.¹⁴

Psychic sodomy is not a vice, but a passion. A blameworthy one, if you like, unclean and revolting, but a passion none the less. A number of sodomists have written me letters over which I have wept, telling me of their ardent loves and jealousy. They were accustomed to keeping amorous rendezvous with their lovers, and they wrote them letters brimming with a pure affection, making use in these epistles of expressions that had been inspired by the loftiest poetry. I happen to know that, in one Italian city, there are certain darker places in the public parks where inverters go of an evening to exchange kisses and to fondle each other's genitals, with a sensual ardor and a passion which they are quite unable to resist.¹⁵

Just as in *malacia* and *pica*, the patient eats coal, gravel and earth with an infinite relish, so in psychic pederasty does man love the male! Sodomy, studied with the pitying and forgiving eye of the physician and psychologist, is accordingly a disease which ought to be curable, and which many times is cured.

I shall not leave this unpleasant subject until I have set forth a singular case which I myself observed in America, and which affords an example of the strangest sort of perversion of the erotic sense, one which for me is to be set be-

¹⁴ See Note V, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹⁵ See Note W, in *Notes and Additions*.

side that of sodomy. If the unfortunate one ever reads these pages, I trust he will pardon me for having published his confession in the interest of science:

"I am a young man of good family, about twenty-two years of age, and of a good constitution physically and morally. However, from the moment the sense of sex was awakened in me and I came to know under what form it manifests itself in other men (with the rarest of exceptions), I began to understand that I was widely different from the rule, and that my own case was a very strange exception. The truth is, whereas generally in a man the symptoms surrounding fecundation make their appearance upon a physical or moral contact with the feminine sexual organs, for me those organs hold no attraction whatsoever, but the same effects, that is, erection and ejaculation, are produced in me by other circumstances; while I am altogether indifferent to, and experience no emotion whatsoever for, the woman's natural parts, I am as excited as can be by their lower extremities, that is to say, by women's feet, and to be more precise, by their *shoes*; for while a foot that is nude or covered only with a stocking produces no effect on me whatever, one covered with a shoe, or even the shoe *alone*, without a real woman, excites me very greatly (producing ejaculation, etc.) and brings about the identical effect which in others is produced by the *real* 'altar of Venus.' It is necessary, however, that these shoes be of black leather, buttoned down the side and with a heel as high as possible,—in a word, they must be as *fashionable* as possible. Shoes of another form or material have a much less effect upon me. I then experience a desire to handle them, to kiss them, to put them on myself and walk in them, etc.; and it is to be noted that my sexual organ all the while is not subjected to any mechanical action, either with my hands or otherwise; the ejaculation is quite *spontaneous*. The height of pleasure, it seems to me, would be literally to *prostrate* myself before a pair of pretty little feet so shod, let myself be trod on by them. It is none the less a fact that if the shoes happen to be on the feet of an ugly woman, my fancy is at once dispersed and no consequences ensue; yet when I have

before me merely the shoes, my imagination pictures as being near me a woman of beautiful appearance, and then the ejaculation comes. If I have occasion to be near a woman, it is not her sexual organ, but rather her feet, or better her shoes, which hold me fascinated; this for reasons which have been set forth above. In my erotic dreams, asleep at night, whenever I see beautiful women, the center of attraction for me is their *boots* and nothing else.

"As I have already said, the *sine qua non* of ejaculation for me are a female's shoes and not the female herself. Hence it is, gazing into a shoemaker's window, where fashionable ladies' boots are on display, impresses me as being a highly immoral act, just as it does to speak of boots. Whereas, speaking of a woman's private parts is for me an innocent and insipid thing.

"Well, then, if this mode of ejaculation amounts to masturbation (since it is not necessary nor desirable for me that it take place *within* the feminine vagina), then I must face the dilemma of resigning myself to perpetual chastity or continuing to live in a state of masturbation. The former of these alternatives almost terrifies me, especially after the encouragement I have received from the reading of your excellent book, *The Hygiene of Love*. I would have you understand, my dear sir, that man is very often weak, and especially in such cases as this.

"Many times, I have attempted to perform coitus in the usual fashion, but without any success whatsoever, not being even able to produce an ejaculation.

"When I seek and find pleasure, by putting on a lady's boots to walk in them, I find that the pain they give me by their tightness is not enough, but I must previously have put into them a number of little tacks or big-headed nails with the points upward, and thus at every step that I force myself to take, those nails pierce the flesh of my foot, which naturally causes me quite a good deal of pain, but which is nevertheless accompanied by a real pleasure occasioned by pollutions. It is really my imagination at work, which makes me fancy that I am sacrificing myself

body and soul at the feet of Venus, enduring tortures for the sake of giving her pleasure." ¹⁶

The shameful list of amorous perversions is not, however, finished as yet. Man also makes love with animals.

In the *Bible*, you will find mentioned many times the sin of *bestiality*, while the obscene paintings of India depict monstrous intertwinings of men and animals.

David Forbes, who lived for a long time in Peru, where he was engaged in studying geology, states that in that country the belief is current that syphilis is a malady peculiar to the alpaca and that from this animal it has been passed on to man as the result of vice against nature. There was formerly in force in Peru a law prohibiting bachelors from keeping female alpacas in their homes. In Peruvian guano have been found human figures carved out of wood, bearing about their necks a rope or a serpent in the act of devouring the virile member. Forbes and W. Franks suppose that it is meant to represent the introduction of syphilis through convicts.

It is quite possible that man has made love with all the domestic animals whose size would permit of such relations. Ewes, nannygoats, hens are the preferred ones; but man has also defiled mares, geese, ducks, etc., etc. The Chinese are famous for their love affairs with geese, the necks of which they are in the habit of cruelly wringing off at the moment of ejaculation, in order that they may get the pleasurable benefit of the anal sphincter's last spasms in the victim. ¹⁷

At Rimini, more than one young Apennine shepherd, suffering from nervous dyspepsia, confessed to me having abused she-goats in an extraordinary manner. It appears that they are also very fond of sows! ¹⁸

¹⁶ See Note X (letter X), in *Notes and Additions*.

¹⁷ See Note Y, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹⁸ See *Archivio per l'antropologia et l'etnologia*, Vol. I, p 481. In ancient Rome, the *Belluari*, the *Caprarii*, and the *Anserarii* were those who furnished dogs, monkeys, she-goats and geese (these being Priapus' delight, as Petronius calls them), to the dilettanti in matters of bestiality. If men are lacking, says Juvenal, describing the mysteries of the Bona Dea, in his satire on women, the Maenad of Priapus does not hesitate to give herself to a vigorous ass.

In the imposts of the Court of Rome, bestiality was not overlooked, but

Woman, too, is not spared the shame of bestiality. Plutarch tells us that from the most remote times women had to subject themselves to the libidinous caprices of the sacred goat at Mendes. Today, after so many centuries, the dog is often an agent of voluptuousness for women deprived of love, for those who are prisoners in their homes, or who are over-sexed. Quite often, ladies who are in every way adorable, whom we look upon with envy and desire, and who move in the highest realms of civilized European society, secretly adore their poodle for reasons which they would not confess to a living soul. More rarely, the dog is not a poodle; and then, perversion takes a still lower form, and in place of animal tribadism, we have a case of the sexual embrace with an animal, of connubial sacrilege, of a union of the loveliest of creatures with the most odious and unclean of domestic animals! ¹⁹

was covered by a tax of 90 tornesi, 12 ducats and 6 carlini. In France, on the other hand, it was punishable with death. Claude Lebrun de la Rochette, a learned juriconsult (*Lé Procès civil et criminel*, Rouen, 1647, quarto), thus justifies the penalty of death, which was inflicted at one and the same time upon the debauchee and his animal accomplice: "These animals are not punished by reason of any fault of their own, but for having been the instruments of so execrable a crime, on account of which a reason-endowed being is deprived of his life; being looked upon thereafter as unworthy of the sight of men, after so signal a piece of mischief, and for the reason that the animal would be a constant reminder of the act, every memory and trace of which must be suppressed as far as possible; it is for this reason that the sovereign Courts commonly decree that the records of these cases be burned along with the delinquents."—In 1465, a certain Gillet Soultart was burned alive with a sow. Guyot Vuide was hung and burned on the 26th of May, 1546, for having cohabited with a cow, which was burned before he was. Jean de la Soille was burned alive on the 5th of January, 1556, with a she-ass, which, however, was slain before being cast upon the pyre. At Toulon, a woman was burned who had made love with a dog. In the history of medieval witchcraft, bestiality figures in the rights and orgies of the sabbaths; although here, the true is mingled with the fantastic. Leandro Alberti, for example, gravely informs us that "*at night, the males as well as females became frightful serpents, and sibyls as well, and all those who desired to enter there must first take their lascivious pleasure with the said loathsome serpents.*"

¹⁹ See Note Z, in *Notes and Additions*.

VI

MUTILATION OF THE GENITALS

Deformation and Mutilation of the Reproductive Organs—Artificial Phimosis—Circumcision—Among the Ancient Egyptians—The Hebrews—Savage Tribes—Female Circumcision—Aboriginal Rituals—Ceremonial Tortures—Semi-Castration—Eunuchism—Religious and Other Reasons for Castration—Russian Sects of Castrates—The Skopts—Mutilation of Female Parts—First and Second “Purification”—“Baptism by Fire”—The Mica, Cruel Penile Operation—The Kulpi, a Variation—Elongation of the Mymphae—Infibulation—Other Methods of Insuring Female Continence—Chastity Belts—Clitoridectomy—Curious Egyptian Motives.

MAN has modified the natural shape of the sexual organs, not merely for the purpose of increasing the pleasure of the embrace, as we have already seen him doing; he has also deformed, mutilated and amputated them with various other ends in view. Among these forms of deformation and mutilation are to be classified: *artificial phimosis, circumcision, semi-castration and castration, the elongation of the lesser labia of the womb, infibulation, and clitoridectomy.*

Artificial Phimosis. I apply this term to the artificial or enforced covering over of the glans penis. Thus in Africa, certain holy men, marabus or dervishes of the Mussulman sect, wear on their prepuces enormous rings or other contrivances as a sign of chastity, and devout women come to kiss these obscene symbols. So, too, the Maoris used to go with the prepuce bound, it being looked upon as highly improper for the glans to be shown uncovered.

Circumcision. The custom of removing the prepuce or part of it is sufficiently common; we do not have to go

outside of Europe to find circumcised Jews and Mussulmen. The latter, however, a little craftier in the matter than are the former, would seem, many times, to remove but a small part of the prepuce, in such a manner that, when the man has become an adult, it is often difficult to make out as to whether or not circumcision has been accomplished.

Welcker, upon examining the phallus of an Egyptian mummy of the sixteenth century B. C., found that it had been circumcised, which led him to the conclusion that the Jews had learned the custom from the Egyptians. In any event, Hebraic and Mussulman circumcision is a highly essential part of the religious rite in either case. *Uncircumcised* for these peoples is always synonymous with impious, barbaric, or heretic, being equivalent to our own *unbaptised*.

It is altogether likely that the most important reason which has led men of various ages and of varying civilizations to adopt the custom of cutting off the prepuce has been that it was felt to be necessary to imprint upon the human body a clear and indelible sign which would serve to distinguish one people from another and, by putting a seal of consecration upon nationality, would tend to impede the mixture of races. A woman, before accepting the embraces of a man, must first make sure, with her eyes and with her hands, as to whether he was of the circumcised or the uncircumcised; nor would she be able to find any excuse for mingling her own blood-stream with that of a foreigner. It had, however, not occurred to the legislator that this same indelible characteristic would inspire in the woman a curiosity to see and to handle men of a different sort.

The hygienic value of circumcision has been exaggerated by the historians of Judaism. It is true enough that the circumcised are a little less disposed to masturbation and to venereal infection; but every day, we do have Jewish masturbators and Jewish syphilitics. Circumcision is a mark of racial distinction; it is a cruel mutilation of a protective organ of the glans and of an organ of pleasure; it is a sanguinary protest against universal brotherhood; and if it be true that Christ was circumcised, it is likewise true that he

protested on the cross against any symbol which would tend to part men asunder.

Dimerbroeck states that the prepuce augments the pleasure of the embrace in the woman, and it is for this reason that oriental women prefer the non-circumcised. That the prepuce is an organ of pleasure in the male is beyond a doubt; that it similarly increases pleasure in the female, I should not venture to say, for the reason that when the member is erect, the circumcised and uncircumcised organ are quite alike. In any case, it would be for woman to answer the delicate question; and to date, so far as I am aware, none of them has put in writing her opinion on the subject.

One thing I know, among civilized peoples, circumcision is a shame and an infamy; and I, who am not in the least anti-Semitic, who indeed have much esteem for the Israelites, I who demand of not living soul a profession of religious faith, insisting only upon the brotherhood of soap and water and of honesty, I shout and shall continue to shout at the Hebrews, until my last breath: Cease mutilating yourselves; cease imprinting upon your flesh an odious brand to distinguish you from other men; until you do this, you cannot pretend to be our equal. As it is, you, of your own accord, with the branding iron, from the first days of your lives, proceed to proclaim yourselves a race apart, one that cannot, and does not care to, mix with ours.¹

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE.—The origin of circumcision has puzzled educators and doctors for centuries. There seems to be no doubt that this rite originated in the most remote past. The first reference to it indicates that it was performed with sharp stones.

Only recently there has been published a book, which at last gives the origin of this primitive custom. It is entitled "In the Name of Humanity" by Joseph Lewis.* Circumcision came into existence as a blood atonement. Even the correct meaning of the word "circumcision," both in Arabic and Hebrew, is "purifying" as well as "removing a sexual obstacle" and "cleansing" in a religious sense. It is the contention of the author that "purification" in a ritual sense was the sole purpose and origin of circumcision. The author cites Biblical testimony in support of his premise.

The introduction of circumcision in Western civilization stems directly from its practise among the Biblical Hebrews. And contrary to the popular impression, the medical profession does not recommend it. In fact, many physicians now condemn its practise as mere mutilation. It has no value whatever either in the field of medicine or as a hygienic measure. Even so conservative a physician as Dr. Morris Fishbein, former editor-in-chief of

* Eugenics Publishing Company, New York, \$2.00.

It is not only the Jews and the Mussulmen who circumcise themselves. We find circumcision in many regions of Africa, whither Islamism has not penetrated, and we also find it in Australia and elsewhere. When the young Kaffir has attained the age of from fifteen to eighteen years, he undergoes circumcision; and this operation confers upon him the right to enter the society of his fellow men. The act is accompanied by feastings and by dancings, in which the women and the girls in particular take an active part, and this festival lasts for five months. The young men in the meanwhile all go covered over with a blinding white potter's clay, which gives them a striking aspect. They go apart and live outside the village in a special hut, where they have masters to instruct them in all the arts of the manly life. They are also treated very harshly, being subjected to blows and various kinds of torture, in order that they may learn to endure pain. A part of their education consists of instruction in the arts of theft and warfare.

When their novitiate is completed, they leave behind them in the huts their clothing and ornaments and repair to the neighboring river to bathe themselves. There they encounter parents and relatives who have brought their new clothing; and in the interval, fire is set to the hut in which they have lived these five months, with all that it contains. On their way back to their homes, they must not glance in the direction of the conflagration which is consuming their recent habitation. They take from this moment a new name, and no greater insult could be offered them than to call them by their old one. From this moment, as well, they may make love as freely as they like.

The Fanti of Africa likewise circumcise themselves, the ceremony being always performed in a sacred place. At Acera, for example, it is performed upon a rock projecting. The American Medical Journal states that—"most authorities think that circumcision should not be done."

Dr. Julius Weingart of the Department of Pathology, Iowa Lutheran Hospital, states that—"Circumcision as a routine procedure is to be condemned. There are no general grounds exclusive of ritualistic ones, to justify it. Unless indicated by definite surgical considerations, it becomes mere mutilation, as senseless as it is unworthy of a humane profession."

Dr. Miles Atkinson, eminent New York physician, condemns circumcision as "a barbarous custom." For a further study of the subject, we highly recommend the reading of "In the Name of Humanity." (Editor)

from the sea. The custom, however, is not universal.³ The Abyssinians circumcise their offspring eight days after birth, and then baptise them when they are forty days old (eighty in the case of females), thus mingling a Judaic and a Christian rite.

According to Waitz, circumcision in both sexes is performed in many African tribes; but he admits that he does not know what the operation consists of in the case of girls. Among the Mandingos and the Bambarros, it is done at the age of twelve in girls, at the age of fourteen in boys. Bruce speaks of the excision of the clitoris in Abyssinia, and Werne assures us that clitoridectomy is performed in the Sennaar region, at Take and in the surrounding regions, as well as at Benin. Very similar operations are reported in Arabia, at Massaua and in other adjoining localities.

Waitz maintains that circumcision was widespread in Africa even before Islamism was introduced. The fact is, it is spoken of by a number of travelers of very early date. He further insists, however, that many of the negroes do not attach any religious significance to this form of mutilation. The Binagos and the Felupes of Fogni merely make a few incisions in the prepuce, while the Baquems, the Papels and other tribes circumcise themselves in the Mussulman fashion.

Circumcision was in use throughout a great part of Polynesia, and was performed early in infancy. At Tahiti, the operation was by a priest. At Tonga, the prince alone was exempt from this mutilation. This custom is in contrast with that of the Maori and other islanders of Polynesia, who bind the prepuce forward over the glans, holding that it is highly indecent for it to remain uncovered, a point of view we have met with above. The women of the Marchesi Islands were inexorable with one poor sailor, whose glans they had seen uncovered, looking upon this as something opprobrious and as an offense to their modesty.

In Polynesia, circumcision was a religious consecration to God of the fecundating member.⁴

³ See Note AA, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁴ See Note BA, in *Notes and Additions*.

Leichard assures us that the Australian who dwelled between the Robinson and MacArthur rivers (latitude 16, 5, 26; longitude 136, 10) are circumcised, as are, moreover, all those of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Other travelers assert the same thing of those who dwell on the opposite, that is to say the southern, coast; and there are also those who would have us believe that such a ceremony is in vogue among the savages of the north of Perth. Salvado, who quotes these authors, finds nothing positive upon which to base an assertion that a custom of the same sort exists among the savages of the interior of New Norcia.

The exceedingly modest Dawson has this to say in a Latin note: "*In quibusdam tropicae Australiae partibus circumciduntur pueri qui in pubertatem initiantur, hic autem nos indigenis in hoc libro descriptis ignotus est.*"⁵ ("In certain parts of tropical Australia, boys are circumcised upon reaching the age of puberty; this custom, however, does not apply to those aborigines described in this book.") Dawson is speaking of the Australians of the eastern district of Victoria.

Brough Smyth gives more precise information concerning circumcision among the Australians. He says that the custom is to be met with on the eastern shore of Spencer Bay, in the Carpentaria Gulf and Cooper's Creek regions, as well as in central Australia. It is unknown in the more southerly portion of the continent. It is Bennett's supposition that circumcision was learned from the Malays. It is performed at the time when youths are pronounced men, at which time they must give proof of their courage; and it has no religious significance. I do not understand how it is Smyth can say that this form of mutilation is for the purpose of limiting the population.

He describes the rite in connection with an account sent him by one of his correspondents. An hour before dawn, this correspondent saw a score of natives gathered about a tree at some distance from a village. They were festively clad, as for a *corroboree*, and were engaged in intoning a sort of

⁵ James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines, etc.*, Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, 1851.

anthem with responses. They had sung all night long and were tired and ready to drop. At some distance from them were six other natives, with the youth who was to be circumcised. The lad was on his feet, but was not permitted to talk. No sooner was the sun up than the neophyte was taken to a place where a large number of natives were gathered; and his eyes were then blindfolded and he was laid out upon the grass.

Two men held him, while about a dozen others performed the operation, each of them equipped with a bit of jagged quartz. It was over in a moment, and immediately, various ones among those present set up a shout.

Gason speaks of five forms of mutilation, which consecrate the various stages of life in the young man: 1) the *Moodla-willpa*, or perforation of the nasal septum (from five to seven years); 2) the *chirrinchirrie*, or extraction of the teeth (from eight to twelve years); 3) the *kurrawellie wonkauna*, or circumcision, which is performed at puberty; 4) the *willyarvo*, or scarification; 5) the *koolpie*, which is a terrible torture, to which, however, it would appear, not all the young men are subjected.

According to Teichelmann, the youths at puberty in certain parts of southern Australia are christened with green boughs and sprinkled with blood taken from a warrior's arm. The young man is afterwards placed in the earth and covered with dust; he is then lifted out by the ears, to the accompaniment of high-pitched screams, as if they were awakening him from the magic ecstasy in which he is supposed to be immersed. A line is traced upon the ground, and to the right of it one of the elders takes his stand, representing the *autumn star*; and to the left, there stands another, representing a fly. A great staff belonging to a woman is borne about in a circle, and the one who carries it plants it in the ground and prostrates himself upon the earth, while all the bystanders fall upon him, forming a sort of human altar upon which the youth is placed, and it is there that he is circumcised. He therewith receives a name which is to be his own, and another secret one, and is initiated into

those mysteries which only men may know. Neither young girls nor women may be present at the ceremony.⁶

The Loango negroes are circumcised; otherwise, they would be looked down upon and repelled by their women.⁷

Semi-castration and Castration. Strabo wrote that in his day the Hottentots used to cut off a testicle (the left one) from young men before their marriage.—“*There are to be found among them,*” he says, “*not only victims of mutilation, but castrates, as among the Egyptians.*” The Jesuit Tachard, as well as Boeving and Kolbe speak of the amputation of a testicle among the Hottentots; but the learned and conscientious traveller, Fritsch, has overlooked this fact.

If man castrates himself and other men, it is because he is impelled to this infamous mutilation by the most opposite of reasons, such as the desire to elevate himself above human weaknesses and aspire to the heavens; the desire of vengeance; jealousy; or lust. Even the ancient Hebrews had their castrates, as may be seen from a passage of Isaiah (Chapter LVI., 3-6). It appears, all in all, that the making of eunuchs arose in Asia, where the institution of polygamy called for safeguards against feminine frailty.⁸ The Romans brought eunuchs to Europe; and a number of the species became famous under the Byzantine empire, and arose to high posts, leaving behind them a page of history that is their own.⁹ We shall cite Eutropius, the first eunuch to dare assume the duties of a Roman magistrate and general. He had spent a number of years as a druid in the service of Ptolemy, who had presented him to the general, Aristaeus, for whom with great ability he fulfilled the functions of mediator. He then passed into the service of Aristaeus' daughter, when she took a husband, and the future consul then found his duties to be the combing of

⁶ *Remarks on the probable origin and antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales, by a Colonial Magistrate*, p. 16.

⁷ See Note CA, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁸ See Note DA, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁹ Martial praises Domitian for having prohibited the castration of boys for purposes of masculine prostitution. A special form of castration would appear to be that inflicted by Nero upon Sporo, whom the emperor wished to transform into a woman, being madly in love with him.

his mistress, presenting her with the silver ewer, bathing her; or fanning her in the summertime.

The eunuch Narsetes, after his victories in Italy, there became imperial governor.¹⁰

In the Orient, castration was imposed upon unwelcome pretenders to the throne.

Panceri relates that the Coptic monks of Gisgeh and of Zawy-el-Dyr, near Syut, in Upper Egypt, would castrate their young black slaves brought from the Sennaar and Darfur regions, in order to make of them eunuchs and custodians of the harem. When amputation of the sexual organs has been completed, the wound is cauterized with boiling water, and the victims are stuck down into the sand as if they were so many bottles.¹¹

Religious castration is one of the most singular forms and would call for a whole monograph in itself. Many religions impose chastity upon their priests. Now, inasmuch as this is a very difficult virtue, the idea spontaneously arises of weeding out the evil by the root, that is by amputating those organs which lead to sin. Thus, in the Holy Scriptures, there are certain passages which, interpreted in a certain manner, may be taken as justifying castration. (Matthew, X, 12; V, 28-30; XVIII, 8-9; Mark, IX, 43-47; Luke, XXIII, 29; Colossians, III, 5.)

A disciple of Origen, the Arabic Valerius, in the year 250 A.D., founded the first sect of castrates, which from the founder took the name of Valerians. Persecuted by the emperors Constantine and Justinian, the sect still spread widely, to become, it may be, the spiritual forerunners of the modern Skopts. The first castrates to appear in the history of Russia are two metropolitans of Kieff, John and Ephraim. They were Greeks by birth and lived in the second half of the eleventh century. The former was taken to Russia from Greece by the Princess Anna Wssewolodowna, in the year 1089 and is known in the chronicles as *Nawje*,

¹⁰ See Note EA, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹¹ Panceri, "*Lettera al prof. Mantegazza*," in the *Archivio per l'antropologia e l'etnologia*.

or corpse. But it would seem that these two castrates were not members of any particular sect.

We must come down to the early years of the eighteenth century to find the first traces of a religious sect of castrates. It was in 1715 that a number of heretics were arrested at the Uglitsch Club (District of Jarosslaw), their doctrines being very close to those of the present day Skopts. Two years later, Procopius Lupkin was arrested in Moscow, along with two disciples, heretics of the same brand as himself. In 1733, likewise in Moscow, there was discovered a sect of seventy-eight persons of both sexes, who were in the habit of practicing flagellation as a mortification of the flesh, but who at night, in their holy prayers and dances, frequently produced effects contrary to their desires, inasmuch as a number of their women became pregnant as a result of the ceremonies. It appears that cruelty, lust and asceticism went hand in hand in their case; for at one of their holy banquets, the breast of a young girl was carved and, having been cut up into pieces, was passed around and consumed by those present. Upon another occasion, it seems, a young boy was killed and they drank his blood.

These heretics were known as *Clisty*, or flagellants; but they also took upon themselves the name of Quakers. It is not certain that they mutilated their genitals; but Von Stein looks upon them as the precursors of the Skopts, in the monograph which he has devoted to these forms of modern madness.¹²

The true Skopts arose and spread during the reign of Catharine II, and that of Alexander I; and the assertion of individuality on the part of this sect took the form of castration. In the early days, the operation was performed by destroying the testicles with a hot iron, which led to the process being termed a *baptism of fire*. Later, the practitioners came to adopt milder measures, by cutting off the masculine glands with a knife or a scalpel, after they had been firmly bound to the scrotum. The mutilation is done

¹² "Die Skopzensekte in Russland in ihrer Entstehung, Organization und Lehre nach dem zuverlässigsten Quellen dargestellt," in the *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, Berlin, 1875, p. 87.

by a specialist or by one of their leading teachers; but all of them together do not appear to possess the knowledge of how to bind an artery, the hemorrhage being stopped by fire and empiric astringents. Soldiers, sailors and convicts have similarly more than once castrated themselves by means of a knife, an axe, or with a piece of glass or tin.

This mutilation, nevertheless, is not an ideal with the Skopts; they call it by the modest names of *first seal*, *little seal*, *first whitewashing*, *first purification*, *mounting of the speckled horse*. When castration is performed in adult years, erections continue for at least some time, and the victims' capacity to sin is therefore not diminished; for this reason, the Skopts have thought it better to take away the penis as well, and this is known as the *full baptism*, *second or imperial seal*, *second whitewashing*, *second purification*, *mounting of the white horse*. This imprinting of the *imperial seal* is done, sometimes all at once, sometimes on two consecutive occasions. When the former method is followed, the testicles and penis are bound into a single noose, and the whole is amputated or chopped off by the blow of a hatchet. When the second method is employed, the testicles are first removed, and then, in a second operation, the masculine member is also done away with.

Those Skopts who have had the honor of mounting the white horse, are accustomed to wear in their urethras a small tube of pewter or of lead, equipped with a sort of bud-like spout to facilitate the exit of the urine and to impede the contraction of the urethra following the operation. The Perewertyschy are a variety of Skopts in whom castration is performed in infancy with amputation and torsion of the spermatic cord. According to I. P. Liprandi, the Prokolyschy are yet another variety of Skopts, among whom the operation is performed by binding the scrotum with a noose and transpiercing the spermatic cord with needles.

The women, as well, of this holy sect are wretchedly mutilated. They cut off, tear off or burn off the tips of their breasts, or they do away with the two mammary glands, or they give themselves many slashes in the bosom. Occasionally, the operation is limited to a single breast-tip, or a single

breast. Many other times, they do away with a part of the lesser pudic labia, either with or without the clitoris, or else they amputate the upper part of the greater and the lesser labia, along with the whole of the clitoris.¹³

The Skopt, Budylin, applied the term of *first purification* to the mutilation of the woman's genitals, and that of *second purification* to the mutilation of her breasts. All these outrageous insults inflicted upon the bodies of the poor Skopt women did not in the least prevent them from desiring men, making love with them and having children by them. Prostitutes are even to be found in their ranks.

Among the Skopts, however, are a number of men and women who are not in any way mutilated, but who belong to the class of *conductors* or *pilots*. The external appearance of the Skopts is that of all eunuchs. Pale, corpulent, with the general look of overgrown infants. The beauty of their women, those that have been mutilated, according to all accounts, is noticeably impaired. It is unnecessary to add that among the men the beard is lacking or is very scarce.

Von Stein asserts that the Skopts' character is also profoundly modified by castration, the outstanding traits among them being selfishness, craftiness, hypocrisy, and a thirst for gold. Very few cases of death, according to reports, have been established as a result of the operation; but Von Stein rightly observes that in all probability many such cases are concealed by that veil of mystery which the Skopts keep thrown about everything pertaining to them. Thus, in May 1834, in the Kronstadt Canal, there was found the body of a Skopt who had evidently died as the result of such treatment.

In the large cities, especially at St. Petersburg and at Moscow,^{18a} the victim is bound to a cross-shaped contrivance, one reminiscent of those ingenious devices made use of by vivisectionists in the physiological laboratories. Other-

¹³ Rotsch informed Miklucho-Maclay that the Australians of the Herbert River region were in the habit of tearing off the nipples of young girls to prevent suckling. But this cruel mutilation would seem, rather, to have had a Malthusian objective, like the other customs of the native Australian tribes. (*Zeitschrift für Ethnol., Verhand.*, 1881, p. 27.)

^{18a} TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—Once again, attention may be called to the fact that reference is to the pre-Soviet era.

wise, the operation is done as best it may be, in the public bath houses, in forests, or in an out of the way place of some sort.

It is not our intention to give a history of the Skopts' religious beliefs and rites, save in general outline. The pathologic physiology of this institution of theirs is very simple, being in fact similar in every way to that which is to be found in other religions in which cruelty, mysticism and the adoration of the unknown are joined in an abject and pitiful wedlock.

Original sin, as the Skopts see it, did not consist in eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, but in Adam and Eve's carnal union. As a means of being redeemed from this sin, Christ foretold castration, castrated himself, and all his disciples did likewise, as did also the first Christians. Corruption afterwards caused Christ's precept to be forgotten, the larger share of blame in the matter going to the Emperor Constantine.

Christ came into the world a second time to redeem humanity and to teach castration. The Skopts are, accordingly, the true and only Christians. They do not believe in the resurrection of the body, the pains of hell being for them of a purely spiritual nature. The world is eternal, and its changes lie only in the mode of living among men. When all the world shall have come to be inhabited by Skopts, there will be a paradise of eternal beatitude. For the time being, the Skopts when they die go away to live in a seventh heaven, which is also the home of the Lord God.

The Sacred Scriptures are not recognized by them. They refer to them as the *dead letter*, and believe them to be apocryphal or falsified. They hold to be true only those parts which would seem to impose upon men the duty of castration. The true Bible, which they call the *Book of the Dove*, is to be found in the dome of St. Andrew's at St. Petersburg. They do not recognize the sacraments of the orthodox church. Baptism for them is castration, and communion consists in listening to *prophecies*. They eat small loaves of bread or little cakes sanctified upon the tomb of Schilow, one of their martyrs. In addition to continence, which is

their prime virtue, the Skopts also condemn themselves to many other privations. They may not make use of spirituous beverages, nor of tobacco, nor may they eat flesh. They live on herbs, milk and fish.

It is possible that a certain cerebral infantilism is to be discerned in the passion which they have for diminutives, just as their imaginative fanaticism is constantly breaking out in their everyday phrases. They never call themselves Skopts, but always the *pure*, the *white doves*, the *just*, the *true little sons of God*, the *whitewashed*. Their communities are known as *circles* or *barks*, while their teachers and prophets are *pilots*. Their prayers, which for the most part are accompanied by dancing, they term a *labor in God*. They refer to sensual love as *sin* and *vanity*.

If it is not so strange for a few individuals voluntarily to eradicate the root of the dearest joy life holds, renouncing thus love and family, it is certainly most strange for hundreds and thousands of men and women to permit themselves to be so mutilated. The fact; however, cannot be denied; and it will be a little easier to explain, when we reflect that the Skopts are in control of enormous wealth, and that they employ all manner of seduction in attracting to themselves the poor in spirit, and even more, the poor in pocketbook, who by mutilating a single organ (however important it may be) of their body, thereby assure themselves of a lifelong competence. A poor peasant was once lamenting the fact that he did not have the price of a drink, when someone remarked to him, "*Go see Szimenow or Nasarow (two Skopts) and let them castrate you, and you will have all the money you want.*"

When the neophyte rebels against the baptism of fire, so runs the account, he is put to sleep or inebriated by means of special beverages, a bag is drawn over his head, his hands and feet are bound, and the amputation is then performed.

The diligent Von Stein states that in Russia the honor of having proportionately the largest number of Skopts goes to the districts of Petersburg and Orel, with a ratio of 8 to every 100,000 inhabitants. Next come the districts of Kosstroma and Rjasan, with 5.8 per 100,000; Kaluga, Kursk

and Taurien with 3-5; Perm, Moscow, Ssamara, Ssaradow and Bessarabia with 2-3; Jaroslaw, Twer, Smolensk, Tula, Tambon, Ssimbirsck, Chersson and Astrakan with 1-2; Archangel, Novgorod, Pskow, Estland Tschernigow, Woronesch, Nishni-Novgorod, Wjatka and Ufa, 1/10-1; Livland, Wilna, Minsk, Kasan, Pensa, and Jekaterinoslaw with less than 1/10. The other districts are not without their share.

In the 1866 statistics, cited by Von Stein, there appear 5,444 Russian Skopts, of whom 3,979 are males and 1,465 females. They were almost all Greek Orthodox (5,024). Of Lutherans, there were 409, and only 8 were Catholics. One only was a Mohammedan, and two were Jews. As to the degree of mutilation determinable in individuals, of the men, 588 had everything amputated, 833 the testicles only, and 62 had mutilations of various sorts. Among the women, 99 were found with amputation of the breast and pudenda; 306 had their breasts missing; 182 were lacking in nipples; 251 had only their genitals mutilated; and 108 showed mutilations of various sorts.

It was possible to determine, in one set of Skopts, that 863 were self-mutilated, among these 160 women; 1,868 had been castrated by others, among these 638 women. Of their own desire, 1,652 had been castrated (among them 448 women), 982 of them (143 women) through artificial anesthetic, and 470 (4 women) by violence or force.

The Russian government has endeavored to wipe out the Skopts, employing one of two methods, sometimes one and sometimes the other: excessive tolerance, and excessive strictness. From time to time it has shut its eyes, in the hope that a monstrosity so contrary to human nature would die a natural death. There have been trials, with hangings and sentences of exile to Siberia; but neither indulgence nor the gallows has been of much avail. The Skopts still exist to this day; and if Russia has succeeded in ridding herself of a great number of them, many of these have taken refuge in Roumania, where they are both numerous and of great influence. A quite recent book by an anonymous author, one which lies before us as we write, gives the history

of the Skopts of Bucharest in the form of a novel¹⁴ The author appears to be well informed on his subject, and must have viewed with his own eyes and touched with his own hands the horrible scenes and objects which he describes. A single bit of data from his introduction will speak more eloquently than any long discussion. A census taken in 1865 revealed the presence of 8,375 Skopts in Roumania; another, in 1872, showed an increase to 16,098, an increase, that is to say, of 7,723 in the course of six years.¹⁵

The Australians have succeeded in producing an artificial hypospady for the purpose of impeding fecundation. E. I. Eyre¹⁶ as far back as 1845 had published the fact that the natives of the Port Lincoln Peninsula or along the coast to the east not only were circumcised, but were accustomed to undergo another graver operation, which he describes in these words: *fenditur usque ad urethram a parte infera penis* ("the penis is cloven all the way up to the urethra on the lower side"). Further on, he states that this operation is performed between the ages of twelve and fourteen years, and that all the males whom he examined showed the effects of it. He added that this might be a wise disposition on the part of Providence, by way of limiting the population in a country that is so arid and so sterile.

In a work written by a number of authors on Australia,¹⁷ there will be found a description of this Malthusian urethrotomy: "They perform the operation in this manner: they insert the os Walabii (*Halmaturus*) through the attenuated urethra, bringing it down to the scrotum in such a manner that it pierces the flesh. They then with a sharp stone cut it off all the way up to the glans penis."

¹⁴ Le Scopit, *Histoire d'un eunuque européen*, Bruxelles (without date), XXX. The author states: "This book is less of a novel than might be supposed. . . . I have lived for four years in the midst of the Skopts, in what was of necessity almost daily contact with them. In penning these pages, therefore, it has cost me no great effort to put into orderly form upon paper the notes for this story. For I can still hear, screeching in my ears, the fanatic sermons of that race of miserable castrates. . . ."

¹⁵ See Note FA, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹⁶ *The Native Tribes of South-Australia*, Adelaide, 1879.

¹⁷ *Journals of Expedition of Discovery into Central America, etc.*, 1845, Vol. I., p. 212.

In the same work, on page 231, there is an account furnished by a missionary of the name of Schürmann concerning this operation — "There is a cleft of the urethra from the apex of the penis down to the scrotum, done with a piece of sharpened quartz. I have not been able to learn the reason for this strange mutilation. When questioned, they reply: 'That is the way our ancestors did and so we have to do the same.'"

On page 273, S. Gason describes the customs of the Australians of the Dieyerie tribe, stating that they perform an operation known as *kulpi*. This is done when the subject's beard has grown long enough to be tied up. They say that it is performed by placing the member upon a bit of tree-bark, after which the urethra is cloven with a bit of flint stone, and there is then applied to the wound another piece of bark to keep it from closing. Men who have had this operation performed upon them are permitted to go naked throughout the camp, even in the presence of women.

Miklucho-Maclay states that this operation is known as *mica* in central Australia; and he conveys a description of it in the form of information received from a squatter who had been in the country over a long period of time. The incision is made from the orifice of the urethra down to the scrotum by means of a piece of sharpened flint stone, and there is then applied a piece of bark so that the cut edges of the urethra may not close over. Men who have undergone the *mica* may go nude, while the others are required to cover their genitals. They may even take a wife. To urinate, they sit down; and lifting the penis somewhat, they make water as do our women. It would appear, on the contrary, that the Australian women urinate standing up.

In erection, the member which has been so operated becomes very wide and flat; and in coitus, the sperm is ejaculated outside the vagina. This is something which many Europeans have seen with their own eyes, having prevailed upon native men and women to have intercourse in front of them. Miklucho believes that coitus in such a case must be of lesser duration. (?)

The squatter informed M. that out of more than 300 who

had been operated, there were not more than three or four men with their members intact, and that it was incumbent on these latter to see to preserving the species. In this tribe, children were very rare, and the males far exceeded the girls.

Upon sending this first account to the Anthropological Society of Berlin, Miklucho added that the Malthusian hypospady was in use not only in southern and central Australia, but also among the natives of Port Darwin. It was further stated that in these tribes a few of those who had been operated were the parents of legitimate children. (?) I shall pass over, as being little deserving of notice, the report that certain aborigines of the northwest coast of Australia were addicted to making partial clefts in the urethra and to dilating the orifice by way of increasing pleasure in the embrace.¹⁸

Later,¹⁹ Miklucho communicated other accounts, which tended to confirm the preceding ones, supplying additional details as to the strange operation known as *mica*. He had learned from Rotsch that the *mica* was performed for the sole purpose of avoiding offspring, and that it was in particular the weakest among the men who submitted to it. From this point of view, the operation would have not merely a Malthusian purpose in view, but also that of ameliorating the race. From time to time, the wives of those who have been operated grant their embraces to others who are intact, in order that they may have children. Rotsch was speaking of the natives of the Herbert River region, near Lake Parapitschury.

The knife employed is made of quartz, and the handle of the thickened pap of the xanthorrhoea.

From other accounts provided him by P. Fölsche, Miklucho learned that the Australian Nasim, who dwell between the Roper and the Nicholson Rivers, along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria were in the habit of circumcising their boys at the age of fourteen, and that later, when the lads had attained the age of eighteen years, their urethras

¹⁸ *Zeitschrift für Ethnol.*, Berlin, 1880, *Verhand.*, p. 85.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1882, *Verhand.*, p. 87.

were cleft with a bit of jagged quartz or with a sharp-edged shell. The edges of the wound are not permitted to come together, being held apart by a bit of wood or a small flexible piece of bone. When the member is healed, it has the appearance of a large bud. According to what the women say, men who have been so mutilated may still make love, but cannot produce children, this causing them to be preferred. Fölsche would add another singular detail, to the effect that it is especially the more robust men who are mutilated like this, which would seem to point to an inverse mode of selection.

The Australians not only cleave the urethra of their males to render them sterile, but they also perform an ovariectomy upon their women to keep them from having children.²⁰

When Miklucho-Maclay was travelling in Queensland, he met Rotsch, who had traversed the continent's length and breadth. The latter told M. how he had learned from a native of the existence of castrated women among the Australians, dwelling near Lake Parapitschury (about latitude 33, longitude 139), and he added that the men almost always have the urethra cleft. The native in question had seen among this people a girl who led the life of a man, who did not possess the woman's usual fullness of figure, who was almost wholly lacking in breasts, and who had a trace of beard on her chin. She had no feeling whatever for men, to whom she nevertheless granted a purely mechanical satisfaction. In her inguinal parts, she had two long scars.

This castrated female was not the only example of her species. Others of the kind were produced to provide the young men with an outlet for their lustful passions. This recalls the custom of those natives who for a long time dwelt along the shores of the Condamine River, and who turned over their sterile women for the use of the young men. MacGillivray, the noted naturalist of the *Rattlesnake*, had seen a woman of one of the Cape York tribes who had undergone an ovariectomy, and who bore the scars of it. She had been born a deaf mute, and had been castrated in order

²⁰ It appears that the Romans sometimes castrated those women who were destined to be prostitutes.

that she might not give birth to others with the same affliction.

Dr. Roberts, in his account of his journey from Delhi to Bombay (Müller's *Archiv*, 1843), tells of having met with a eunuch-female, who had been subjected to an ovariectomy, and who had neither breasts nor pubic hair, rotundity or avoirdupois, nor had she any desire for the sexual embrace.

It transpires that the Australian women are schooled in the art of voluntarily expelling the sperm immediately after coitus, when they do not wish to be left pregnant. In any event, they have been seen a number of times stretching their legs, with a serpentine motion of their trunks, as they were engaged in casting out the semen. It is singular to observe how a people on the very lowest rungs of the human ladder, as the Australians are, should have succeeded in out-doing in the matter of lascivious cleverness the ancient Romans themselves, who were adept in manufacturing *spadones*, castrates who after puberty could still have an erection of the penis without being able to render women pregnant. Juvenal says that the women were especially fond of them, for the reason that "*abortivo non est opus*" ("there is no need of an abortion"), and again: "*Gellia vult futui, non parere.*" (Gellia wants to be . . . not to have children.")

*"Erge expectatos ac jussos crescere primum
Testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres
Tonsoris decimo tantum capit Heliodorus."*²¹

Elongation of the Nymphae.

All are by now familiar with the natural elongation of the lesser labia in the Hottentot woman, but not all know that the same thing occurs, by exceptional circumstance, even among our own women. Broca has observed in a young French girl an elongation of the nymphae similar to that of the female Hottentot. They had formed a tumor, pro-

²¹ "First let the expected and longed for testicles grow; and then, when they get to be two-pounders, Heliodorus takes his clipping tithe of them."—*The Sixth Satire.*

truding five or six centimeters.²² Duhousset also, at Beyruth, observed and called attention to a case similar to that of Broca's. I myself have many times seen the nymphæ protruding in this exaggerated manner, one of them occasionally being a good deal longer than the other.

Merensky believed that the "apron" of the Hottentot women was artificial, being led to this false opinion from having seen the Basuta and other African tribes engaged in artificially prolonging the lesser labia of their females. He states that it is the larger girls who perform this operation upon the smaller ones, and that this is done almost immediately after birth. They first stretch out the labia, and then later roll them about little pieces of wood.²³

Infibulation.

Infibulation of the woman is practised in Abyssinia, in Nubia, and in the Sudan, and is done in order to make absolutely sure of the bride's virginity. The word is derived from that *fibula* with which the ancient Romans prevented their actresses from engaging in venery, this by way of preserving their voices. The operation, as it would seem, was introduced into Nubia by one of the first Christian kings.²⁴

Panceri was able to study the sexual organs of a young prostitute of the Sudan. When she was on her feet, the first thing observable was the accentuated form of her mons veneris (which had been artfully deprived of hair, as with all the women of the Orient) and the lack of the initial part of the vulvar fissure. Panceri believes that this shape of the mons veneris has a relation to the transverse narrowness of the basin, while its fullness recalls that of the statues of Venus or of the Graces, or is reminiscent of eunuchs, ex-

²² *Bullet. de la Soc. d'anthrop. de Paris*, 1877.

²³ *Zeitschrift für Ethnol.*, Berlin, 1875, Vol. VII., p. 18.

²⁴ Martial speaks of the singers of his day, who sometimes broke the ring and had to take it back to the maker: "*Et cuius refibulavit faber penem*" (that is, the artisan had to "refibulate" them). Celsus speaks of the infibulation of Roman boys, in the interest of their voices and of their health, and describes in his works the method of operation. Even the anus, it appears, was infibulated to preserve its virginity. It was the custom for slaves who accompanied Roman ladies to the baths to cover the genitals with a bronze cap or a black leather girdle.

ception being made of the urethral orifice, which in the latter is to be seen on a level with the surface of the body. When this part was observed from close up, there was perceived, at the place where the vulvar fissure is, a linear scar, beneath which the clitoris in its proper place could be felt with the finger, but it was not very mobile, since it was to a degree covered over by the scar tissue. It was only when the lower arteries were parted, that there could be seen near the perineum the vaginal ostium in the form of a fissure, the margins of which were formed by the crest of the lesser labia (which in a certain manner were fused with the greater ones) and by the fork, beyond which crest, on the inside, the black color at once leaves off and the pink of the vaginal mucous begins. Accordingly, the upper connecting tissue, the clitoris, the urethral orifice, and the anterior half of the lesser labia were hidden, for the reason that the greater labia had adhered together.

Infibulation is done in this manner. The greater labia on their internal surface are scraped with a razor, and then there is placed in the urethra a small funnel like a catheter for draining off the urine; thereafter, the two great toes of the feet are bound together with a ribbon, and from the malleoli up there is a more or less regular bandaging, continuing as far up as the middle of the thighs, all of this with the object of keeping the thighs so close together that the greater labia will come to adhere. The statement to be found in some books, to the effect that stitches are taken, is accordingly false. When the apparatus is removed, there remains but a small orifice for the draining of the urine and the menstrual fluid, corresponding with the position of the fork. For eight days the patient must remain lying down, after which the girls are permitted to rise; but for eight days more, they must see to it that they keep their feet close together so that the labia may not tear apart.

When an infibulated girl comes to take a husband, the midwife equips herself with a knife, and before the bride is turned over, she rips the scar from top to bottom as much as is necessary, reserving for herself the task of making a

yet larger cut before parturition takes place, so that the narrowness of the external portions may not occasion any great obstacle to the emergence of the head of the foetus.

Panceri had an opportunity to observe another infibulated negress, who for three consecutive parturitions had had to have the original scar ripped, which had been left by the adhesion of the greater labia.²⁵ She informed him, moreover, that infibulation in the Sudan is accomplished with a powder made from the seeds of a certain plant that is known as *sene sene*, but she was unable to say as to whether this was a vulnerary or an exsiccative remedy.

The Mohammedans condemn infibulation and call an infibulated girl by a name which means *one who has had it cut off*, that is to say, by the name of *mutahara*.

Lindschotten²⁶ writes that girl infants in the Pegu region are sewed up in such a fashion that there is left them only a tiny hole; and when they marry, the bridegroom makes the aperture as small or as large as suits him.

Waitz also speaks of infibulation, asserting that it is in use among many African tribes. He further tells us that the husbands sometimes draw the stitches together again, whenever they are going on a long journey, and that slave merchants also assure themselves by the same means of the chastity of the girls they want to sell.²⁷

In many ages, the thought has occurred to man of safeguarding the virtue of woman with mechanical means, and chastity belts are said to have been brought to Venice from the Orient, and from there to have become widespread over Europe. Yet even in ancient Rome, infibulation and other similar means for preserving womanly purity were known. In the Middle Ages, *safety girdles* were known and employed, and Guillaume de Marchant speaks of a key which had been given him by Agnes of Navarre, the allusion here, undoubtedly being to a very similar contrivance:

²⁵ Panceri, "Lettera al prof. Mantegazza," in the *Archivio per l'antropologia e l'etnologia*, 1873, Vol. III., p. 353.

²⁶ Lindschotten, *Deutsch v. I. v. Bry*, Frankfurt, 1613. *Ander Theil der orientalischen Indien*, p. 48 (Ps. 6065 fol.).

²⁷ See Note HA. in *Notes and Additions*.

*"Adonc, la belle m'accola. . .
 Si attingny une clavette
 D'or, et de main de maistre faite,
 Et dist: "Ceste clef porterez,
 Amys et bien la garderez,
 Car c'est la clef de mon trésor
 Je vous en fais seigneur dès or;
 Et, dessus tout, en serez mestre,
 Et si l'aim' plus que mon oeil destre,
 Car c'est mon heur, c'est ma richesse,"²⁸
 C'est ce dont je puis faire largesse!"*

Some have attempted to deny the authenticity of the *safety girdles* or *virginity belts*, but the fact is no longer open to doubt. We have in various museums the original objects themselves, and they have been described by contemporary writers wholly deserving of credence. They would seem to have come down to the middle of the eighteenth century; for we hear the advocate Freydier perorating in Parliament in favor of a wife who accused her husband of having subjected her to this ignominious treatment. (*Plaidoyer contre l'introduction des cadenas ou cintures de chasteté*. Montpellier, 1750, octavo.) Brantôme, in his *Dames galants*, has this passage: "In the time of King Henry IV., there was a certain ironmonger, who put in an appearance at the fair of St.-Germain with a dozen of contraptions for muzzling women's things; they were made of iron, and went about the waist like a girdle, closing down below with a key; and they were so craftily made that it would not be possible for a woman, while muzzled with one of them, ever to take her pleasure again, there being but a few small holes for her to piss out of."

²⁸ "Then, the lovely one presented me with a tiny golden key, made by a master hand, and said: 'This key you shall bear with you, my friend; and guard it well, for it is the key to my treasure, of which I make you the master from this hour; yes, you shall be the master, above all; and it is worth more to me than my right eye, for it is my happiness, my all; it is that largess which I have to bestow.'"

Clitoridectomy.

The clitoris was, and still is, cut off in many countries and among many different races, with the sole purpose of rendering women less voluptuously inclined and therefore more readily faithful.

Duhoussat describes circumcision as done in Egypt from the ages of nine to twelve, and consisting in the amputation of the clitoris and of a part of the lesser labia as well, thanks to the bungling method of the operation. He deduces that the Egyptians do not care for any sensual participation on the part of the woman in the act of coitus. The women, on the other hand, procure for themselves pleasurable sensations by means of an exciting beverage, which only leaves them still with the desire for a pleasure that must go forever unsatisfied. (*Bullet.*, 1877, p. 127.)

Panceri has studied the clipping of the clitoris and infibulation of the woman in northern Africa. The clipping is done by a midwife with a pair of scissors, or by a woman specialist in the public baths. The operation is known to the Arabs as *cassura*. Either the glans of the clitoris with a relative portion of the prepuce and lesser labia is amputated, or else the glans escapes the none too expert scissors, and only the prepuce with a shred of the lesser labia is removed. This custom, however, is not general, and there are families in which it is not observed.

Among the Ijvaros of the Upper Amazon, the clitoris is removed from all women by means of special shears with a pair of which the late lamented Liccioli had promised to present me, the next time he visited the region.²⁹ But upon his return voyage, he unfortunately died upon the ship which was carrying him and his own beloved little daughter back to Brazil, and his body had to be buried at sea. He had assured me that the natives in question amputated their women's clitoris for the reason that they were oversexed and wished to have a number of wives, whom they

²⁹ This Italian countryman of ours had lived for a number of years in those regions, and had married a native wife, from among the Ijvaros. He presented the Ethnographic Museum at Rome with many valuable specimens.

believed or hoped they could keep faithful through this barbarous method of mutilation.⁸⁰ It would be hard to imagine a more selfish form of perversion, when one stops to think that love is a joy meant for two, and that to suppress our companion's pleasure in the act is cruel and barbarous, representing a species of pleasurable refinement which must be paid for at usurious rates.

⁸⁰ See, also, Ecker, in the *Archiv. für Anthropol.*, 1872, p. 225.

VII

THE WINNING OF THE BRIDE

Conquest by Violence; By Purchase; By Free Choice—Abduction of Tribal Women—Rape as an Aboriginal Custom—Obscene Savage Trophies—The Bible and Sexual Violence—Conquest by Force Among the Spartans; the Athenians; the Germans; and Numerous Others—Custom of Bridal Abduction—Exogamy as a Cause—Other Theories—Love a Battle—Milder Erotic Contests—Right by Might—Symbolic Violence—Voluptuous Excitation and Seduction—Erotic Native Dances—Amorous Nature of the Modern Dance—Theological Objections—The “Cushion Dance”—The “Seven Leaps.”

UPON seeing how many animals deck themselves out with the most splendid of feathers and the most elegant of horns for the sake of love; upon beholding the plants concentrate the major portion of their beauty of form about the flower, that nest of love; upon witnessing all the aesthetic pomp which throughout the world of living creatures is woven about this sentiment; with all this, we surely should expect man to reserve for love his greatest ardors and the most resplendent vestments of poetry, with heart and mind conferring upon the enamored male their warmest beats, their loftiest thoughts. But alas, it is not so. For many of the lower races, the love sentiment is reduced to the simplest of formulas; an instinct of the male and female to come together; the brutal and bloody conquest of a woman, who, for all of that, desires to be possessed; in short, a faithful copy of the heartless loves of many of the mammiferous species.

In man, it is almost always the male who seeks out the female, no matter how much the latter may long to be possessed. In all the lands of the world, upon the highest as on the lowest rungs of the human ladder, pubic man

feels rising in him a new and overwhelmingly powerful energy which causes him to seek a woman of pubic age, whom he may possess and fecundate. The histological mutations of testicles and ovaries are the fountain source of the new, fresh energy which comes gushing up from the depths of human nature; for without testicles and without ovaries, every amorous phenomenon would be lacking, from the cruel and violent embrace of the savage to that hymn which the poet raises to his beauteous one.

From desire to conquest, the road now is long, and now is very short indeed; but whether long or short, it is subdivided into three paths, all of which lead to the same goal; these are: *conquest by violence*; *conquest by purchase*; and *conquest by free choice*. It is nevertheless rare for the three paths to be distinct; more often, they cross and are confused one with another.

Man, who is almost always stronger than the female, almost always more violent and aggressive, sees her, desires her and takes her, snatching her from the arms of her parents and relatives, and often defending his booty with weapon in hand. If then, having possessed and fecundated the female, he abandons her, he shows himself in no wise superior to the brute, who knows nothing of love beyond a simple conjunction of the sexes. This brutally simple formula is quite rare, but may by rare exceptions be verified even in our own midst. Very often, in Australia as in Europe, after the first violence may come love, which tends to heal the initial wound; and the woman who at first was weeping and offended comes later to cherish her abductor. The conquest of woman by the path of violence is one of the oldest and most spontaneous forms of love.

When he cannot have love for its own sake, and is not concerned with having his companion's consent, man rapes, injures and wounds the female whom he would possess. This fact, likewise, while rare among us, is still known to occur, but is looked upon as a crime, whereas among the lowest tribes, it may constitute a universal custom. To a brute desire, which finds no bridle or restraint in any moral law, may be added the hatred for another tribe or another

people; and the booty most longed for by conquerors was ever the love of conquered women. In no other case, perhaps, can man at one and the same time satisfy two of his most preponderant needs: the possession of a desired woman, and the cruel humiliation of an enemy's pride.

Columbus tells us how the Caribs would make excursions into distant regions, with the principal object of abducting women of other tribes; the Indians of the Pampas stole the Argentinians' women and their cows. It was many centuries ago that Horace sang:

*"Sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum,
Viribus editior caedebat, ut in grege taurus."*¹

In many regions of Africa, the theft of women is a common custom, and is sometimes accompanied by the castration of enemies made prisoners. With the Gallas and other neighboring tribes, a warrior's most longed for trophy is the genitals of his enemy cut off and dried, and the one who possesses the most of them fares the best with the ladies. My own distinguished friend, Captain Cecchi, described for me this obscene trophy which he had many times seen.

* * *

In the Bible, you will find in more than one place an account of the carrying off of women.

At Sparta, the young man was called upon to abduct the girl whom he wished to make his own; while in the Athenian laws, you will find that the one who had used violence with a woman was required to marry her.

Women were also carried off among the ancient Germans, by the Magyars and, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, by the Serbs. The Miridites of European Turkey never take for a wife one of their own women, but abduct one from the nearby Mohammedan tribes.

Exogamy, or marriage outside one's own tribe, even when it is done by free choice or accomplished by purchase, is

¹ "But they died an indescribable death, who were slain by the stronger male, bursting like a bull into the herd and seizing like the beasts upon such lustful satisfaction as chance might bring."

merely a progressive evolution, a more civilized form of love through rape.

A yet more civilized form is represented by the figurative conservation of the theft.

At Sparta, the nuptial ceremony was a depiction of a real rape, even where the parents had given their consent; and in the Roman rite, in Catullus' time, the husband still pretended to be carrying off the bride. Without undertaking to give a complete list of all the peoples with whom the custom of rape in one form or another survives, I shall still endeavor to give some idea as to how general that custom is.

Todd relates that the Raipulsi may not take a wife of their own kin. The Garrows of India may not enter into a union with women of the same *Mahari*. (Dalton.)²

The Samoïdes always look for a wife in another tribe. (Castren.)

The Kalmucks take their wives from a tribe bearing a different name. Thus, the Derbeti take one from among the Torgati, and vice versa. (Bastion.)

No Ostiack takes a wife who bears the same surname. (Pallas.)

The Iacuti marry with women of another class. (Middendorf.)

The Noggai prefer as their companions girls of different villages. (Haxthausen.)

In West Africa, a bride is looked for in a different class from one's own. (Du Chaillu.)

The same is true of the Somali. (Burton.)

The Arawak of Guiana are divided into a certain number of families, each one of which claims descent in a certain direct female line and bears a special name. No one, male or female, may unite in marriage with a person who does not bear his own name. Heredity of name and substance is in the female line. A violation of this law is for them a grave offense.

Among the Eskimos of Cape York, it may be said that the entire nuptial ceremony is reduced to a raping or pretended raping of the bride. The girl is expected to scream, weep

² See Note IA, in *Notes and Additions*.

and struggle, until she has been borne to her husband's house.

With the other Greenlanders, it is two or three old women who are called upon to depict the rape.

Similarly, among many of the other aborigines of America, matrimony is represented under the form of a rape. It is so with the Indians of Arauco and with the Nadovesi.

Gray tells a very comical story of the rape of a bride by a black Mandingo, who had been given permission by the bride's mother to carry off her daughter. Here, the rape was not in the least simulated, but the girl resisted with all her might, clawed and bit her abductor, pounded him with her fists, and kicked him with her feet, until the bridegroom finally had to have recourse to the sturdy arms of three of his friends.

Very similar scenes are to be met with among the Futa of West Africa and among the Kaffirs.

In New Zealand, the rape was a true battle; and inasmuch as the women were doughty and robust, a great deal of sweat and muscular force was required, and the abductors had to return more than once to the attack.

Rapes, under various forms, are to be found in the Malacca Peninsula, among the Khonds of Orissa, among the Kalmucks, the Tongusi, the Kamchatkans, and the Tserchessi.

The simplest form of feminine conquest is that reported by Dieffenbach, from Polynesia. When two youths wanted the same girl, each took her by an arm and pulled with all his might until the stronger of the two finally had her.

In New Zealand, there was frequently a real robbery in connection with the obtaining of a bride, and the bride in question might come out of it with a severe or even a fatal wound. Sometimes, on the other hand, the rape was merely symbolic.

The ancient German name for matrimony was *Brautlauf*, or *race for the bride*, which indicates clearly enough that a real rape and flight was involved. Kulischen, who has penned a most erudite monograph on this subject, describes the ancient nuptial rite in use in the Dietmarschen and in

the Island of Sylt, where it is evident that there is a simulation of violence. Following is the manner in which the ceremony was performed in the Island of Sylt down to the middle of the last century:

Early on the wedding morning, all the male guests would gather in the bridegroom's home and would accompany the *Brautmann* to the home of his bride. The door to the latter would be closed. After they had knocked a number of times, an old woman would make her appearance, saying, "*What do you want?*"—"There is a bride here that we mean to carry off."—"There is no bride here at all."—And the door would be slammed in their faces. A second knock, and the door is opened for good this time. After a half-hour's wait, and after a nuptial squire (*Bridlefstr*) had placed the bride and her two bridesmaids (*Aalerwüffen*) upon a cart, they all leaped to their horses and rode away. The taking of the bride and the hoisting of her into the cart was not always so easy an undertaking as it might seem; since it was not permitted to take hold of her anywhere below the knees, while above that point the circumference created by her many garments and furs was truly enormous.

Lord Kamen describes the marriage ceremony of the Wallisern, which consisted of a mock battle in connection with the rape of the bride. Obvious vestiges of bridal abduction long existed in Russia, and in all the bridal songs the bridegroom is referred to as the *stranger*, the *enemy*, or something of the sort. In the province of Olonezky, there is a song which runs as follows:

"On my last day as a virgin, I sat in my little white room. I sat there in full possession of my liberty. From Lake Onega a bevy of birds came flying. A nightingale alighted on my window, and an eagle began to speak: 'By the end of this day, the garden shall be taken, all the people shall be overcome, and Wolja Liberty shall become Newolja Slavery.'"

In the province of Wologodsky, there is a similar bridal song:

"This night, I have slept little and have dreamed much. I have seen, O my dear ones, a high mountain, and on this high mountain there lay a rock gleaming white. Upon this

rock stood a bird of prey, an eagle, and in his claws he held a swan. Bethink you now, O my dear ones, what this dream may signify. That high mountain is a stranger land, that white rock is a tall tower of another country, and the eagle, the bird of prey, he is a stranger. In his claws he holds a swan, me, the virgin."

Among the Czechs, also, the arrival of the bridegroom is heralded with these words: "*The enemy approaches.*" In Little Russia, before the bride's departure, there is a mock battle between her companions and her bridegroom's friends, and the song runs:

"Do not think to surprise us, O Litthauer! ³ We shall beat you, we shall combat you valorously, and we will not yield the bride."

But the battle must always end with the bridegroom's victory.

Külischer sees in the wedding ring a figuration of the bride's being taken prisoner, this being merely one link in a chain.⁴ He justifies his assertion with proofs drawn from the old German traditions. With the ancient Romans, for that matter, the bridegroom was accustomed to offer the bride, along with other wedding gifts, an *iron ring without a stone*, and it was not until much later that the ring became a gold one. It was not until modern times that the bridegroom as well came to receive a ring from the bride. In England, down to this day, the wedding ring is always worn by the wife.

An entire volume would not be sufficient to describe all the marriage forms which are in use among modern peoples, and which are atavistically reminiscent of the ancient rape. With us, the having of a carriage at the church to carry the bridal couple to the railway station, and that custom which leads them to scatter among any number of hotels those memories which should sanctify for them their future home, all this is but the simulated abduction. And to this day, in

³ Following the invasion of the Litthauers and the Tartars, the bridegroom came to be called a *Litthauer*, or *Tartar*, that is to say, an enemy.

⁴ Külischer, *Intercommunale Ehre durch Raub und Kauf*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1878, p. 208.—Ungen, *Die Ehe in ihrer welthistorischen Entwicklung*, Wien, 1859, p. 106.

Apulia, they *climb* for the bride, implying an abduction, even where the parents' consent is granted.

De Gubernatis, in his learned brochure on nuptial customs in Italy has collected valuable information on this head.⁵ At Caralvieri, in the Arpinate, the form of rape is as follows:

The bridegroom, accompanied by relatives, finds the bride's house closed to him, and no matter how much he may knock, no heed is paid; whereupon, in high dudgeon, he questions the neighbors, who reply that they know nothing about it. Then he makes the rounds of the neighborhood, and in a ditch he finds a ladder with a rung broken here and there; readjusting it, he climbs with this ladder to a window in the bride's house. After much searching, he finds the bride hidden in some corner, and with her he goes down to open the house door, and all is merry as a wedding bell. The father and mother of the bride then say to him: "*Now that you have found her, you deserve to keep her*"; and the bridegroom's father in front of the house door presents the bride's parents with the haunch of a sheep, saying: "*Here is dead flesh; give us the live flesh.*" Following which, the bride is consigned to the bridegroom with a blessing, and the latter conducts her to her future home.

In Russia, it was young girls who greeted the bridegroom on his way to church, and he sent them away content with small coins and ginger bread. In Heideboden, in Hungary, when the bridegroom goes to take away his bride, the village youth obstruct his path with a silk ribbon, and the bridal pair must ransom themselves with a goblet of wine and a little bread.

A number of phrases are employed to describe this ceremony in Italy, the most common of which is *fare il serraglio*; in Corsica, *far la travata*; in the Pistoiese, *far la parata*; in the Valtellina, *far la serra*; in the Tarantino, *far lo steccato*, and also, *far la parata*; and in a number of districts of the Piedmont, *fare la barricata*.⁶

⁵ *Storia comparata degli usi nuziali in Italia*, etc., Milani, Treves, 1869, p. 163.

⁶ De Gubernatis, *Op. cit.*, p. 165. (Translator's Note.—The phrases quoted are in large part dialectical and practically impossible to carry over into

De Gubernatis came upon these customs in Monferrato, in the Upper Canavese, in Ossola, in Valtellina, in Trentino (Valley of Non), in Fanese, in Pesarese, in certain districts of Tuscany, in Corsica, and in Abruzzo Teramano.

In explanation of the rape, true or simulated, of the bride, a number of more or less brilliant theories have been advanced. It is puerile to see in this custom a reminiscence of the rape of the Sabine women; both because the event alluded to is mythologic, and for the reason that the custom is also to be found in many peoples who have no rape of the Sabines to remember. De Gubernatis' own explanation is an ingenious but insufficient one. He would look for the origin of the custom in Indian mythology. The sun, he points out, espouses Aurora and snatches her from the powers of darkness. Aurora spills the dew, for the bride must necessarily weep. And the sun dries the dew; for the bridegroom does not weep, but dries his bride's tears.

It is not, however, in the heavens that we are to look for the origin of earthly things but rather upon the earth; seeing that man has fashioned the heavens after his own image, and not the reverse. MacLellan would explain the universality of the custom by exogamy, that is, the law which prohibits marriage with women of the same tribe; and exogamy is seen, in its turn, as the result of female infanticide. Lubbock combats this theory, believing it more likely that the violence of the ceremony is an expression of the violation of those property rights which parents, brothers and countrymen have over the bride.

I believe that both these theories are far-fetched and false. Love is a battle; throughout the whole of the animal kingdom, practically speaking, horns, claws and teeth serve not only for the getting of food, but also for the procuring of the female; and so it is, love's very heart throbs are inextricably bound up with the cruel and bloody struggle. It is accordingly natural that man also should be subject to this law; and while teeth and claws may have been polished off

English. The general sense is: open the harem (*far il serraglio*); put up the rafters (*far la travata*); put up the bean-pole (*far la spallera*); put up the dyke (*far la serra*); put up the fence (*far lo steccato*); put up the barricade (*fare la barricata*).—The drift of the metaphor is obvious.)

by civilization, there nevertheless remains always the symbolic image of rape and violence. It seems to me that, in our study of mankind, we very frequently go looking afar for what is near at hand; and so we seek to find in Sanskrit roots many things which are within a palm's breadth of the end of our noses.

In the preservation down through the centuries, even though customs might grow milder, morality more refined and taste more esthetic, of this figurative violence, a large contributing factor has been that exceeding degree of tenacity with which, among all peoples, those rites having to do with birth, marriage and death hang on; for those are the three cardinal points upon which rests the pyramid of life.

Following the brutal and actual love-rape, and the simulated rape, there appears a less savage form of right by might. For violent attack there is substituted a struggle or contest; for the assassins' ambush is substituted the combat of two men measuring with each other the strength of their respective muscles, each struggling for a victory which means the possession of a woman. It is the duel which comes to take the place of homicide.

Richardson tells us that he has many times seen the natives of North America engaged in a muscular love bout. A strong man sees a beautiful young woman in the arms of a male weaker than himself. He challenges the other to a contest, overcomes him, and the woman is his; and he finds all this natural and just. Hearne tells how the natives of the Hudson Bay region are accustomed to fight for a woman, who goes to the one who is the strongest.

Sometimes, the marriage ceremony shows a mixture of elements, with violence, purchase and seduction intermingled, each having its proper place, whether simulated or real. A classic example of this admixture of elements is to be found among the Araucans. The young Araucan begins by paying court to the girl of his choice, and wearing always about his neck a jew's harp adorned with pearls and glass beads, he proceeds to serenade his beloved with the

harmonies of that instrument. When things have reached a certain stage, he must produce the price to purchase the girl; and if he is not rich, he must go begging among his friends for an ox, a horse or a few chips of silver until he has succeeded in getting together the amount which he must pay the father-in-law. When this has been done, his friends mount their best horses and accompany him to his father-in-law's house. Five or six of the more eloquent among them dismount from their horses and make a request for the girl's hand, exalting the virtues of her would-be husband and the happiness which would come to her from such a union. The father replies with another speech. All this display of eloquence has no other object than that of allowing the young man sufficient time to seek out the girl, while she weeps, screams and cries for help. A mock battle now ensues between two groups of young men, the bridegroom flees to the forest with the bride on his crupper, and he is followed by her friends and relatives. In the course of this battle, blood may even be spilled. As soon as the fugitives are in the depths of the forest, however, all persecution ceases and they are left to their caresses without further molestation. The next day, they reappear and are now man and wife.

Occasionally the rape is a real one, and is perpetrated against the will of the bride's relations; but if it is successfully carried out, the bridal pair return to face the music and have the right to be man and wife. A few days later, the bridegroom's friends go with him to lay at his father-in-law's feet the price asked for the girl, and the father is satisfied and exchanges good wishes with the couple and their friends.⁷

The winning of the bride is often done with games and dances, representative of a violent conquest of the desired object, or there may be music to incite to voluptuous desire, a music that is a near or distant imitation of the union of the two sexes.

The young Camacans go off to the forest, carve from a tree trunk a heavy log of wood, and from it fashion for themselves sticks. The one who believes himself to be the

⁷ See Note JA, in *Notes and Additions*.

best man among them takes the phallic emblem on his shoulders and runs with it towards his own house. His companions pursue him, and all of them, victors or vanquished in this contest of strength and agility, end up finally in a certain place where the girl is waiting for them ready to confer upon the victor his reward.

Spix and Martius describe a dance which is done by the Puri of South America in the darkness of night. The men take their places in a row in front of the women, who likewise line up, one behind another. Then they move forward and back, with voluptuous undulations, singing all the while: "*We wanted to pluck a flower from the tree, but we have fallen down.*" As if this highly transparent allusion to the mysteries of love were not sufficient, the women in the last round of the dance must roll their haunches, now drawing them in, now pushing them forward, while the men push only forward and from time to time, acting as if drunk, as they leap out of line and greet the bystanders with a blow in the belly.

Spix and Martius further tell us that a very similar erotic dance is found among the Mursi. In the course of this pantomimic dance, the men and women sing a song with choric responses: "*Who is that devil there who wants to marry me?*"—"You are a handsome devil, all the women want to marry you."

In erotic dances women for the most part portray merely the sexual embrace while the men, in addition to the act of sexual union, simulate in various ways the process of seduction. In the dances of certain of the aborigines of California, the women with the thumb and forefinger of their two hands strike the lower part of their bellies, now to the right, now to the left. No sooner do the men start dancing than the women as well begin to leap; and when the men stop, their companions do likewise.

The Prince of Neuwied witnessed an erotic dance among the Minnetarees of North America, in the course of which the women waddled as ducks do when they walk, raising first one foot and then the other, but remaining in one spot. After two hours of dancing, each woman took off a part of

her clothing and taking her companion conducted him to a solitary spot in the forest.

More erotic yet was the dance of the Yaquis, known as *tutuli gamuchi*, in which the men exchanged wives, yielding reciprocally all rights over them.

Captain Beechey describes another amorous dance, which he witnessed among the Eskimos of Cape Deas-Thomson. The first part of this dance was symbolic of seduction, the second of victory. Here, too, we have hip movements and more or less brazen imitations of the sexual embrace. In other Eskimo tribes, according to accounts, the prize in the dance is a woman.

Dances quite similar in nature are described by Alberti, among the Kaffirs; and Campbell gives us a description of one in vogue among the Matschappi of New Latoku, in which there is a very good imitation of all the pantomime of the sexual act. Dances little different have been seen among the negroes of Sierra Leona.

Külischer, who has collected these facts, makes the observation that in nearly all these erotic dances it is the woman who chooses the companion that she wants. Lichtenstein, on the other hand, describes a dance of the Korani, in which it is the man who, after having performed in front of eight or ten women seated on the ground before him, and after having made alluring gestures toward all of them, ends by choosing one of them; he then falls in her lap, and they roll on the ground together.

Cook saw at Tahiti a dance known as *tinwrodi*, which consisted in movements and gestures that are indescribable in their brazenness; and in the course of the dance, phrases are uttered that are still bolder in character, by way of explaining that which stands in no need of explanation.⁸

Among the ancient Hebrews, too, virgins danced among the vineyards in the sight of all the people to get themselves

⁸ It was undoubtedly lasciviousness which led certain Australian natives, whom Padre Salvado came upon, about sixty miles east of his mission, to put into the middle of a circle of dancing men one or more young girls wholly naked; the girls, in case there were two or more, would embrace each other, bending their knees or swaying their bodies toward the earth, while the dance continued all around them.

a husband. As the Talmud tells us, they were divided into three ranks: the beautiful; the elevated in rank; and the ugly. The first shouted to the men: "*Direct your glances at beauty, which is woman's only reason for being loved.*" The aristocratic maidens, in their turn would exclaim: "*Rest your eyes upon family, that you may assure your children of a well to do future.*" And the ugly ones would say: "*Make your choice as you would perform a pious work, should you be of a mind to deck us out with jewels.*"⁹

Among us, the dance is no longer an orgy or a phallic representation; but it is certain that it very often skirts those forbidden frontiers. The famous fig leaf of Eden has not been removed, but it has been jarred from its place; and many legitimate and illegitimate amours are born amid the dance's whirl. It is with good reason that theologians and moralists, of all ages and in all countries, have launched their anathemas against the dance; but none of them, probably, has expressed himself in a more ingenuous and offhand manner than has the German Imperial Professor of law, Christof Besold, who in his antiquated idiom puts it thus:

"Es soll kein frommer Mann sein Fraw, noch sein Tochter zum Dans gehen lassen, du bist sicher, dass sie dir nicht als gut wieder heimk kombt, als sie dar ist gängen. Sie begehren oder werden begehrt." ("No right-thinking man will let his wife or daughter go to a dance; for you may be sure that they will not return home as virtuous as they went. They will have desired or been desired of someone.")¹⁰

Finally, those greatest puritans of all, the English, in the Middle Ages, had what was known as a *cushion dance*, in which a lady stood in the center of a group of dancers, while her partner placed for her on the floor a cushion, usually of red velvet, upon which she knelt while the male dancer gave her a kiss. There were, also, those dances which were performed in Suebia and in certain other provinces of northern Germany at harvest time, which were known as the *Sieben Sprung* (the seven leaps), and which were possessed of a highly erotic character.¹¹

⁹ Löw Leopold, *Die Lebensalter in der Jüdischen Literatur*, 1875, p. 320.

¹⁰ Eservinsky, *Geschichte der Tanzkunst*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 42.

¹¹ See Note LA, in *Notes and Additions*.

VIII

PURCHASE OF THE WIFE AND MARRIAGE

Outright Purchase of Men or Women—Three Forms in Sumatra—Woman as Common Property—Erotic Tributes at the Temple of Venus—Prices for Wives in Various Countries—Curious Bridal Customs—African Marriage Laws—Exchange of Wives; Trading of Sisters—A Fiji Island Anecdote—Polygamy Among the Ostiacks and Samoides—Youth Marriages—A Virginity Test—Erotic Customs of the Laplanders—Love Making in the Tropics—Woman as Slave and as Tyrant—A Vagabond Excursion Into the Love Realm of the Negroes—Beauty of Makololo Women—Abuse of Hasheesh—Popularity of Polygamy Among Women—Woman as Man's Equal Among the Banyais—Contempt for Sterility—Inordinate Fleshiness of Karague and Wanyou Women—Wife-Beating as a Custom—Re-sale of Wives—The Amazons; Ferocious Female Warriors—"Pure Love" Among the Dards—Beautiful Native Love Songs—Child Marriage for Profit—Fornicatory Customs of the Kaffirs—Forced Marriages—Wedding Rituals; Lascivious Orgies—Love Spells—Comparison with European Customs.

A MORE humane mode of procuring one's self a wife is to purchase the girl from her parents, who look upon her as a piece of property that is not to be deeded over save for a special price. More rarely among savage peoples, but quite frequently with us, it is, on the contrary, the girl who buys the husband, offering to the latter, in addition to her own body, a given sum of money which constitutes her dowry.

Marriage by simple purchase and sale is not the commonest form; very often, contract and choice, contract and violence are mingled, being now interlaced and now tempering one another. At Sumatra, for example, there are three forms of marriage, which have three different names. In one,

the male purchases the female; in a second, it is the female who purchases the husband; and in the third form, it is the two of them together who make a choice and accept each other.

The woman in many countries is looked upon as being her father's property or that of the tribe; she must accordingly, in order to be married, pay a tribute to the father or to the tribe. To the father a gift, and to the tribe her own body for the course of a day. Thus in Babylon, before she went to be married, the young girl must first offer herself once in the temple of Venus; and so it was in Armenia, at Cyprus, and among certain Ethiopian tribes.¹ Thus, Diodorus Siculus tells us that in the Balearic Isles, the bride must belong for a night to all the wedding guests, after which she became the property of one man alone.

The purchase of the wife signifies that she has a certain value, and that, the girl being her father's property, the first thing the groom must see to is the laying out of the price asked for her. Following in general outline are the prices for wives in various countries:

Australia—a knife, a glass bottle, etc.

Kru tribes—three cows and a sheep.

Kaffirs—from ten to seventy head of bovine cattle.

Navajos—horses.

Abipones—horses, ornaments, cloth and beads.

Pehuenche—weapons and cattle.

Pehuelche—horses, clothing, buttons.

Mishmi (India)—anything from a pig to twenty cattle.

Munda (India)—for the poor, seven rupees; for the rich, ten head of large cattle, or a pair of bulls, or a cow and seven rupees.

Rajahs of Timor—large sum of money, two hundred or three hundred buffalo, droves of horses or of pigs, whole flocks of sheep and goats, gold dust, golden jewelry and piles of native cloth.²

¹ In a following chapter (Part II., Chapter XV.), devoted to a study of prostitution, more will be said of this.

² The train of honor accompanying a *Rajah* of Timor's bride remains in the house of the bridegroom prince until the entire price for the princess has been paid; and inasmuch as this is usually paid a little at a time, the

Tscherchessi—weapons, cattle, slaves, generally horses.

Ancient Greece—cattle or precious objects.

Romans—See what is said of *coemptio*, later on.

Ancient Germans—Calves, a tamed horse, a shield, a lance, a sword.

Iceland—One mark as a minimum.

A noble Friesland lady—Eight Pfund, eight Unzen, eight Shillings, eight pfennig.

An ancient Saxon lady—Three hundred sterling.

A Longobard noble—Three hundred to four hundred sterling.

Borgundia—Fifteen to fifty sous.

Ancient Russia—Horses and money.

Many ancient Russian wedding songs speak of the purchase of the bride; among them this one:

Work, work, O brother,
Do not give me away cheaply.
Ask for me a hundred rubles,
Ask a thousand for my tresses,
Ask money without end for this my beauty.

In another song, the sister beseeches her brother not to sell her; but her prayer is of no avail, and the song goes on to say:

The sister is dear to the brother,
But money is dearer yet.

In certain districts of Russia, the bridegroom pays the brother a given sum for the bride. After the contract is concluded, they sing: "*The brother has sold the sister for a crown.*" Similar phrases are to be found in Siberian and Bulgarian songs.

Even where the bride is no longer purchased, there persists a rite that is reminiscent of the sale and purchase contract. This is true of the peasants of East Prussia, and in that part of Eastern Pomerania which is inhabited by the Kassuls. On the wedding day, and usually after the wedding feast,

attendants keep asking the husband: "*Is the rest of the bride's purchase-money ready?*"

the bride is placed upon a chair in a special part of the room, and with an empty plate upon her lap. Then one of the youths present comes up and casts a coin into the plate, saying in Polish: "*To jest moja!*" ("*This is mine!*") All the other young men present follow suit and last of all the bridegroom. The bride is free to do with the money as she sees fit.

It appears that this custom is also prevalent in Bavaria, where the money so collected goes to cover the cost of the wedding. In the district of Berent, too, something similar takes place, the offering there being described by the phrase *etwas in die Schlipp geben* (*Schlipp* in *platt deutsch* signifying lap).³

Even in those countries which are near savage, and where the woman is man's property and as such subject to purchase, she may still own property in her own right, whether it come to her as result of personal labor or from her parents. Thus for example, at Bambuk, what the woman earns by working in the gold *lavaderos* (gold-washing troughs) belongs to her. At Loango, a community of goods between husband and wife does not exist; and along the Gold Coast as well, the husband's chattels are kept separate from those of his wife.

In Africa, in addition to the purchase of the wife, there is another mode of marriage, in which the wife with such children as may be born to her, remains the property of her own family. The bridegroom in this case pays the bride's family a counter-dowry, of which restitution is to be made in case husband and wife are divorced. If instead of this the husband dies, the widow does not go back to her own family, but goes to make her home with the deceased's heirs. Should the wife or her family fall into want, or have need of money for a law-suit, a sacrifice, a funeral or some other purpose, she goes into debt for it to her husband, putting up her own children as security, and she may even thus fall into slavery. When he goes to borrow money, the head of the family must put in pawn wife and children, paying in the meanwhile a rate of interest that is generally fifty per cent. In this way,

³ A. Treichel, "Hochzeits-Gebräuche besonders aus Westpreussen," etc., in the *Zeits. für Ethnol.*, 1884, p. 120.

it frequently happens that the debtor becomes a ruined man and a slave.

In Australia, exchange of females is not rare; and one may procure as many wives as he has sisters to trade.

The esteem which the Fiji Islanders have for their women may be deduced from the following anecdote. A Fiji chieftain had purchased a rifle of a seagoing captain and had promised to pay him for it with two pigs. When he set foot on land, he was able to find but a single pig, and so sent a young woman in place of the other pig.

Certain natives of Guiana, upon buying a wife, feel that they may dispose of her in the same way they might of their own bow and arrow. They surely may sell that which they have bought.

A Carib girl, angered at having been sold to an old man who already had other wives, including one of her own sisters, fled from him to go and live with a young man of Essequibo. The old man proceeded to track down the happy couple, not for the sake of revenge, but to demand of the ravisher the price of the stolen wife. Content with what he got for her, he came back nine months later to collect for the son which had been born to the pair.

The Ostiacks and Samoides are polygamous, the number of their wives being limited by the fortune which each possesses, that is, by his means for purchasing them. And inasmuch as they are poor, it is rare for one man to have more than three wives. Ostiack girls are the property of the father, and the bridegroom must pay a price which the Russians indicate by means of a Tartar word, *kalim*, while the Samoides call it *niemir*, and the Ostiacks name it *ninkdim* or *tanj*. The Ostiack young man who desires to wed a girl dispatches a deputation to the village where she is. The suitor's friends take a room in one of the village huts, but not in that belonging to the girl's father. Having sent for the *elder* of the village, providing he is not a member of the girl's family, they send him to her parents to lay before them the official request. If the parents receive the proposition

favorably, negotiations are begun to establish the amount of the *kalim*. There is much coming and going on the part of the elder from the bride's house to that of the ambassadors and back again, until a price is finally agreed upon. Then the commission returns to the suitor's hut to announce to him the joyous news.

For the sake of those who would form a more definite idea of the *kalim*, here is the price at which one young Ostiack girl was sold: forty rubles in money, two wolf skins, six yards of red cloth, enough cloth for three *gus*, or men's tunics, a large iron skillet, two smaller skillets, three sets of women's clothing, four sets of women's furs, twenty furs of white wolf skin, four beaver skins.

But in this case, the girl's father was very generous; and in return for the *kalim*, he made a present of three sets of women's furs, six reindeers and sledges, three sets of women's clothing, a *melitza*, a *gus*, four caps for covering the head and a *polisk*, or coarse woven mosquito netting for summer. And it was further stipulated, that when, after a week, the bride should come with her husband to visit her father, the latter should present his son-in-law with two reindeer and not less than ten rubles.

With the Ostiacks, children are accordingly looked upon as a treasure, whereas for the Hindus they spell ruination.

From the importance assigned to the *kalim*, it might be concluded that marriage for the Ostiacks is no more than a bill of sale; but even with them, cupid is impudent and impertinent and inclined to take matters into his own hands. More than once, a lovesick girl permits herself to be carried off by a bridegroom who cannot pay the *kalim*.

At Karinkar, an old Ostiack remarked to my friend, Sommier, my companion on my journey to Lapland: "Do you see that girl who stands there, so timid and veiled, at the far end of the *jurte* (hut)? She is a wife whom I myself have carried off for my oldest son. Her father came here on the sly to take payment for the *kalim*, by trying to rob me of my horse and cow; but all he could take was the cow, since my horse had died that very day; and the first chance I get I shall go and steal my cow back. I have a second son, who will soon be

taking a wife himself; and I mean to steal a girl for him. I am poor, I have no money to pay the *kalim*, I cannot do otherwise.

The rich Ostiacks marry off their sons at ten or eleven years; the poor ones wait a little longer. Sommer saw a seven year old Ostiack girl clad as a bride. She was to be married to a forty year old Samoide; the father received for her a *kalim* of a hundred reindeer. Sommer asked the father if he would have given him his daughter for a larger *kalim*.—"No," the father replied, "I would never give my daughter to a Russian." (He took all Europeans for Russians.)

The Ostiack women do not have a name of their own. They are variously known as the little one, the old one, the married one, etc. They are the property first of their father, and then of their husband.⁴

William Tegg states that the Ostiacks, by way of making sure that their women are virtuous, are in the habit of tearing out a tuft of hair from a bear's pelt and presenting them with it; if the woman unhesitatingly accepts this gift, it is for the reason that she is free of any sin; if she were not, she would refuse it, being sure that at the end of three years' time the bear would come to life and eat her.

The Samoides also purchase their wives, paying for them in reindeer; and some girls may cost as much as a hundred or a hundred-fifty head. If the husband is dissatisfied with his wife, he may send her back to her family and demand restitution of the purchase price. With girls coming as high as this, it is understandable that even the richest Samoides very seldom have more than five wives.

No sooner has the girl's father, among the Samoides, received the *kalim* than the two families and their mutual friends come together in the *cium* (hut). The father-in-law makes certain gifts to the bridegroom, and the girl is seated upon a sled adorned with varicolored ribbons, and with all the guests accompanying her, each upon his own sled and forming a procession, she goes to the bridegroom's house, passing under a real triumphal arch made of posts similarly bedecked with ribbons. On the other side of this arch is sta-

⁴ Sommer, *Un' estate in Siberia*, Firehze, 1886.

tioned a young man friend of the bridegroom's, who is supposed to surprise and carry off the girl. If he is successful in this, the father-in-law must make him a present of five reindeer. If on the other hand the maiden succeeds in escaping from her assailant, it is the bridegroom who must pay five reindeer to her father.

When they have at length reached the bridegroom's house, there is a great banquet, which however consists of nothing more than raw meat and brandy; and when the joyous din is over, each one returns home. For two weeks, the bride must keep her face veiled to her husband, and it is not until at the end of this period that the marriage is really completed.

The Laplanders are the nearest to us of all the polar peoples, and I myself have had the opportunity of observing them in their native habitat, having already written of them in another place.⁵ They are an easy-going, good-hearted race, incapable of hatred or murderous intent. They used to have various forms of salutation. Near relatives would kiss each other on the lips; between more distant ones, the kiss was on the cheek; other persons kissed with the nose. At the present time, the affectionate ceremonial among the Laplanders is simpler, and all kiss with the nose as each puts an arm about the other's waist. For the expression of love, they have words of tenderness that are worthy of a superior civilization: *my little dove, my adorable bird, my little white pigeon, my soul, my summer bird, my sweet sun*, etc., etc.

The Lapland marriage is extremely simple. The bridegroom repairs to his sweetheart's house accompanied by a few friends and relatives. One of these acts as his advocate and spokesman. He enters the hut and offers wine to the future father-in-law. If the wine is accepted, the marriage is concluded, and all start drinking. The bridegroom then enters and offers the girl a small gift, which is usually some silver object. The real marriage celebration is a dinner, without either singing or dancing. When the meal is ended, the bridegroom remains with his mate in the father-in-law's house for the space of a year. After that time he goes to set

⁵ Mantegazza, *Viaggio in Lapponia coll' amico Sommier*, Milan, 1880.—Mantegazza e Sommier, *Studi antropologici sui Lapponi*, Firenze, 1880.

up housekeeping for himself, receiving from his father-in-law whatever he may need for the purpose.

The present day Laplanders are all Christians, and their marriage rites are very like our own. They continue, none the less, to be modest and reserved. The engaged pair never kiss each other; their most ardent display of affection is when they pull out a small tuft from their fur coats to run it over the skin of the other's arm, shoulder, or at most the back. There was a time when Lapland girls were expected to display an aversion to being married; at the last moment, they were expected to refuse to put on the bridal gown; they had to be clad by force and forcibly carried to the altar. Kouhler tells us of one girl who carried things so far as to say No before priest, and never was there a more appropriate occasion for quoting the old motto: *Surtout pas trop de zèle*.⁶

From Africa we have jumped to the polar regions, but we shall now return to the former place to see how they make love in the tropics. Here we find the most distant extremes of love: the *woman* who is a *slave*, and the *woman* who is a *tyrant*; these are extremes indeed, and one state is as little to be envied as the other, for where the woman is a domestic animal, where she is an object to be indifferently bought and sold, where she is in other words a slave, the better half of family life is lacking, namely, the influence of the heart, an atmosphere of affection, while the man lacks a guardian angel to console him in grief and to calm him in moments of wrath. Where, on the other hand, man permits himself to be dominated by the woman, the function of the sexes is inverted, and man, renouncing that rightful superiority which is his by reason of strength, courage and intelligence,^{6a} proceeds to drag down with him the level of that society in which he lives. Where man alone commands, we have a society of masculine tyrants and female slaves; where woman alone commands, what we have is a general abjectness, a society of moral eunuchs and mad whims.

But let us for a moment make a vagabond excursion into the love realm of the negroes.

⁶ "Above all, be not over-zealous."—See Note MA, in *Notes and Additions*.

^{6a} Editor's note.—[?].

Among the negroes of the Sahara, the bridegroom presents the bride with a dowry destined to assure her existence in case of premature widowhood, or in case she should have to seek divorce on account of ill treatment. After the marriage contract has been drawn up, it is customary for the groom to send a *caa* (60 litres) of grain to the bride's parents, a most sumptuous gift in these parts. The marriage celebration lasts from one to fifteen days, according to the fortune and the social importance of the parties. On the evening of the last day, which must without fail be a Tuesday, the bride is accompanied with music to the bridegroom's house, and there the pair of happy mortals remain shut up for an entire week, without being permitted to go out. In the meanwhile, they are nourished at the expense of their relatives, and each evening there is music in front of their door. On the morning of the eighth day, the bridegroom goes with an axe into his own garden, or into that of a friend, climbs up into a palm tree and cuts off the top of it which he brings to the bride, tapping her over the head with it. She then cooks this tender morsel, and along with the *couscous*, offers it on the morrow to the relatives and friends.

Among the Damara (southwest of Africa, latitude about 20 degrees south), the husband has less authority over the wife than in other African districts. He may and does beat her frequently and lustily, but the wife has the privilege of fleeing and seeking a husband who is less handy with his fists. Galton, the author of a good book on the Damara, states that the women are very little attached to their husbands. The wife costs a husband nothing, since she must look out for her own food; but he cannot get along without her, since it is she who does the kitchen work and keeps the house in order, and when needs be, also serves as a beast of burden. Every woman (for wives are few) has her own hut, which she constructs for herself. Among various wives, one always rules over the others.

The Ovambo or Ovampo, who have conferred upon themselves the name of *Ova herero*, or lighthearted people, have as many wives as they are able to purchase. The price differs, depending not upon the varying beauty of the girls,

but upon the suitor's worldly circumstances. Women cost much less than they do among the Kaffirs, the ordinary price being one cow or two bulls. A very wealthy suitor may pay two cows and three bulls. Kings pay only with the honor they confer by their choice. In the royal household, there is one principal wife, and her first born is the successor to the throne.

Among the Makololo of South Africa, the women have an excellent position, since the men take upon themselves most of life's labors. They must, however, build the huts and watch over their household affairs; but inasmuch as they have many servants, they do not have to endure much toil. It is for this reason that they preserve until late in life their peculiar statuesque beauty. But being idle, they frequently fall into the abuse of hasheesh and beer, and their health suffers from it. The bride is purchased, but is always looked upon as the property of the family from which she comes. Indeed, when a Makololo loses a wife, he must send a cow to her parents, to recompense them for the loss they have suffered. Polygamy is general, but the women like it well enough, since they distribute among themselves the household tasks, thus lightening the burdens of life. The introduction of monogamy would provoke a veritable revolution among them. It was a Makololo woman who, upon seeing Livingstone washing his hygrometer, after having vainly endeavored to understand what he was doing began laughing and said to him: "Poor dear, you are playing like a baby!" ⁷

The Banyai, who live on the southern border of the Zambese, present the exception rare in Africa of a people who treat their women fairly. Woman here is man's equal, and even in certain respects his superior. The wife is never purchased; the husband on the contrary is taken into her home, where he labors for his in-laws like a servant. If he wishes to leave, he would have to forsake wife and children, at least unless he chose to pay a heavy indemnity. No man ever transacts any business, no matter how trifling, without

⁷ See Note NA, in *Notes and Additions*.

first consulting his wife; and the women go alone to market to sell and to buy goods.

Among the negroes of Angola, the nuptial ceremony might be termed an *unction*, inasmuch as the bride is anointed with various kinds of sacred pomades, and, so anointed, is left alone for some time, while prayers are offered that the marriage may be a happy one and that many male children may be born. The sterile woman is so looked down upon by all that no occasion is let pass to insult and torture her, and more than once this universal deluge of despite attains such a point as to drive her to suicide. After a few days in prayer, the bride is transported to another hut, where she is most luxuriously clad and exposed to the public gaze as a married woman. It is then that she goes to the bridegroom's home, where however she inhabits a separate hut.

Among the Karague, also, as in the greater proportion of African tribes, marriage consists in the purchase of the girl, and the marriage rite in wrapping the bride in a black skin and bearing her off in clamorous procession to the bridegroom's home. The women labor little or not at all, their principal duty being that of becoming as fat as possible, this being the surest way of keeping their husbands happy. By way of achieving this lofty purpose, they eat enormous quantities of bananas and gulp down quarts and quarts of milk. Rumanika had five wives, three of whom were unable to enter by the ordinary doors, and when they went out for a walk, they had always to be upheld by two men to keep them from falling. Captain Speke was able to measure one of these ladies, and these were her proportions.

Height	5 feet, 3 inches
Circumference of arm	1 foot, 11 inches
Circumference of bosom	4 feet, 4 inches
Circumference of thigh	2 feet, 7 inches
Circumference of leg	1 foot, 8 inches

The Wanyou girls are fattened before marriage, the ideal striven for being to become so fat that they cannot move; but the peculiar thing is that the king's own sisters, who by

law are not permitted to marry, become just as fat as the others.

To the west of Lake Nyanza, you will find the Waganda, with whom marriage certainly is no cause for rejoicing to the poor womenfolk. The latter are cruelly beaten for nothing at all, there being a special whip for them, knotted of hippopotamus' hide and fashioned with cruel and ingenious thongs. The king, who is the first citizen of the country, is distinguished over all the others by the fact that he beats his wives the most of all and occasionally indulges in the sport of murdering two or three of them in a single day. Yet for all of this, each day of the world, as the king sits in front of his own hut taking the air, aged parents may be seen who come bringing him their own daughters, offering them to him as his brides. If he accepts them, any offense which their parents may have offered his majesty is at once pardoned. More than once he has been seen receiving the offer of from twenty to thirty young girls, and accepting more than half of them, transforming them as the case might be into wives or servants.

Among the Apingi of Africa, a young man frequently becomes utterly impoverished from having spent his all in procuring himself a wife. A husband must sell his wife at the price he has paid for her, when she becomes enamored of another man.

The Bakali of equatorial Africa are able huntsmen, and no sooner have they come into possession of a few elephants' tusks, than they at once exchange them for European merchandise with which to purchase wives.⁸

Among the Fan tribes, the price that is asked for a wife is very high, and a young man must work a long time in order to lay aside the necessary amount, which is usually in ivory. When the day for the marriage contract has come, there is often a prolonged discussion, in which the girl's father expends all his eloquence in an effort to raise the price, while the prospective bridegroom does all he can to run the girl down so he will have to pay less.

When an Araucan would-be bridegroom is unable to pay

⁸ See Note PA, in *Notes and Additions*.

for a bride, he has his friends give him an ox, a horse, a bit of silver, and so little by little scrapes together his own dowry, or the price of the girl whom he would make his own. The price for the most part is paid in copper or bronze vases, in necklaces of these same metals and in beads. The wedding feasts are pompous occasions and last for many days. Much elephant flesh is eaten, much palm wine consumed, there is dancing, and it all ends in a general drunken debauch.

In the Dahomey tribes are found amazons, who fight like lions in time of war, and who form a special caste. They are widows or spinsters, and may not take a husband. These gentle creatures preserve as warrior trophies the scalps of their slain enemies, and they take an endless delight in adorning their gunstocks with the dried blood of their victims, inlaying it with charming shellwork, forming a sort of mosaic.

The marriage request among these people is made by friends of the suitor, who bring the girl's father two bottles of rum. If the bottles come back empty, the suitor is authorized to send two more full ones, accompanying them with a little present for the bride. If the second gift is accepted, the marriage may be said to have been agreed upon, and nothing remains except fixing the price for the bride, which is almost always made in cloth. This price, nevertheless, is so high that a young fellow is obliged to work very hard for two or three years in order to put aside the dowry.

The Mandingo afford a curious study for the reason that they present the savage characteristics of the negro modified by Islamism. They are polygamous, but the women rule the men, whom they keep always under their feet. When their high-handedness becomes a little bit more than masculine patience can bear, and they are threatened with divorce, they call upon their fellow sisters for aid, and the latter repair en masse to the husband's hut.—“Why is it you treat your wife so badly? Woman is a defenseless creature, man possesses everything. Go and call her back home and win forgiveness for your sin with a nice present.”—The husband begs for pardon, and if the gift he offers meets the offended

wife's idea of what such a gift should be, she is moved to pity and consents to return home.

Love sometimes tames even the fiercest of men. No one, for instance, would expect to find a mild and virtuous love among the excessively cruel inhabitants of the Dardistan region. Yet in this very district, with which Leitner has made us acquainted, love is surrounded by a veritable oreole of poetry. In Ghilzit, the suitor's father goes to pay a visit to the girl's father, and gives the latter a long knife, some cloth and a gourd full of wine. If the gift is accepted, the marriage is gone through with, and the contract is inviolable on the part of the wife, but on the other hand may be broken by the husband upon the slightest whim. The wedding is celebrated with games, dances and vinous toasts.

In Dardistan, the young people have an opportunity to meet frequently and freely in the fields and there to talk of love, but woe to the seducer! His punishment is death. The Dards are in the habit of speaking of *pure love*, and their love songs show that they are capable of the most exquisite sentiment. No offer of marriage is ever refused, at least not when the woman is of a caste inferior to that of the suitor. In the Astor region it would seem that when the suitor is refused, he sometimes succeeds in obtaining what he wants by threatening to come to live in the bride's family as an adopted son. A *Shin* at Astor may live with a woman of inferior caste, but if the girl's relatives discover the affair, they slay the seducer. When the young man goes to seek his bride in a distant village, he must be armed with a bow. He must first cross the girl's bosom with an arrow and then shoot it in the direction of his own home. When he takes the girl back to his own tribe, his companions sing this song:

Come out, O daughter of the falcon,
 Come out, why do you wait?
 Come out of the tent of your father.
 Come out and do not keep us waiting.
 Do not weep, O nymph of the waterfall.
 Do not weep, your color will go all white.
 Do not weep, you are our delight.
 We are your brothers.

Do not weep, your color will go all white.
Oh do not weep, best beloved of your father,
For if you weep, your face will go all white.⁹

Among the most recent travellers who have studied the Kaffirs from close up is the German missionary, Nauhaus.

Whenever a Kaffir has one or more daughters, his most insistent thought is that of marrying them off as soon as possible and to the richest man he can find, in order to have the bulls that they may bring. This is why it is he very often marries his daughters at the age of eight or ten to some rich polygamist, who already has a well furnished harem. When the father has not succeeded in betrothing his daughter at an early age, he dispatches a messenger to the house of the one whom he would have for the girl's father-in-law. The messenger slips away at night and leaves in the home of the desired father-in-law a gift, usually consisting of jewels. The donor of the gift is unknown, but a way is found of making himself known; and the gift must then either be sent back, a proceeding which is known as *mund*, in case the proposed marital alliance is declined, or else it is retained and the question is then open to discussion.

In this second case, two or three persons, usually women, make their appearance in the *kraal* of the girl's home, and take up the position there, to spy out the doings of the family. Fed through the hospitality offered them in the *kraal*, they gather what information they can, make their observations, prepare the way for things, go back and forth between the young man's home and that of the girl's, and finally bring to the father-in-law to-be the joyful news that the bride is in readiness.

And now, the girl in gala attire accompanied by a great number of men and women, young men and maidens, goes in procession to the youth's house. This procession, it may be stated resembles a funeral more than it does a wedding; for the girl must weep and scream by way of showing the grief she feels, or is supposed to feel, at leaving her own family. She enters the hut where the emissaries are

⁹ See Note QA, in *Notes and Additions*.

waiting, who now let it be known that the bride has come to afford a glimpse of herself. And now, here she is, kneeling in front of all the men of the *kraal*, removing her clothes to show what she is worth, and listening in silence to the words of praise or criticism, to the high-voiced and shameless comments that are bandied back and forth respecting her physical qualities. She rises, leaving a gift of pearls, and then puts herself in the hands of the womenfolk, who in their turn feel her over, study her and comment upon her. For the women also she must leave a gift, after which she withdraws into the hut.

After all has been seen and weighed in the balance, a discussion begins (lasting often for a number of days) over the girl's value, which in the case of common folk may run from eight to twenty calves, and for the rich from fifty to a hundred. According to other travellers, the price varies from ten to fifty cows, and is dependent not so much upon the wife's beauty as upon her health and ability to work. For it is to be noted that among these people, love is a thing apart from matrimony. Girls and widows may do as they like, merely asking their lovers not to make them pregnant, since they would have to marry too soon and thus lose their liberty. The Basuto girls say to the young lover: *u se ke ua nsenya*, which being interpreted is, *don't spoil me*. So long as the girl is not pregnant, she is always *xo lokile*, that is *in condition*.

The term *uku hlolonga* is applied to the custom on the part of young men of disporting themselves with girls of the vicinity, choosing the most likely one and fornicating with her but without rendering her pregnant. If in the course of these perilous pastimes some serious mishap should occur, the lad who has bungled matters must pay for his fault with so many head of cattle.

The killing of an ox, which is consumed by all, provides a seal for the marriage contract.

Among princes, marriage is simpler still.

Sometimes, however, it is the Kaffir boy who desires a certain girl; in which case, he and his father with one or two friends as mediators solicit the union. Sometimes it happens

that two youths desire the same girl, and then she generally goes to the one who can put up the most calves. The greatest pleasure that a Kaffir girl can have is to be sold at a very dear price, and the number of head of cattle paid for her increases her self-esteem.

Avaricious parents often sell their daughters to impotent and filthy old men, and when the daughters refuse, they are forced into marriage by blows and endless cruelty. Among the Zulus, Nauhaus saw a girl whose hands had been burned by way of punishment. Another one strangled herself to death rather than go through with a marriage she loathed. A third was no sooner married than she took poison. Among the Xosa, Nauhaus knew two cases of youths who refused to give their hands in marriage to the bride selected for them by their parents, but in this case the marriage feast was simply held without the bridegroom. One of them, after two years of struggle, finally succeeded in getting into his home the girl he loved in place of the one that his family wanted to force upon him.

Once the betrothal bull has been slain and eaten, the bride's father sends to the bridegroom a milk-cow, or it may be two or four, or even as many as ten in the case of princes. A calf may be thrown in, in order that the young man may provide his bride with a new dress. In this case, the bride wears about her neck a braid plaited from the hairs on the tail of the calf in question, to serve her as an amulet.

The marriage feast is always held in the bridegroom's *kraal*, and the guests are many in number. For the lower populace, the feasting lasts three days, and for chiefs ten days. On the morning of the second day of this feast, the bride retires into the forest with all her train and remains there until three in the afternoon. The groom awaits her with his attendants, seated in a circle. Then the girl appears accompanied by two young companions, and makes a speech to the bridegroom, in which it is permitted her to indulge in all the insults she chooses. She ends the speech by exhorting him to treat her well, then goes up to him, takes one of the feathers with which he is adorned and bedecks herself with it. She has now become his bride.

The marriage may be concluded but the ceremonies are not ended. The bride goes with two girls at her side and a lance in her right hand. In front of her go many young men, to remove any stones from her path. Slowly and solemnly she directs her steps to the stockade where the cattle are, letting fly her lance, which comes to rest in the manure of the open stable. This is termed *ukutschata*, and implies that she has become the mistress of the *kraal* and that she too will help defend it from robbers and intruders. She returns to the bridegroom who is waiting for her, while the women present place before her the emblems of the new duties she has assumed: the drawing of water, the gathering of wood, the lighting of the fire, the construction of huts, the cultivation of the earth, etc. Following which the men present, in a loud voice, make long speeches to the young woman, in which, in place of compliments, they speak of her new duties in phrases which are not always very courteous or polished.

Nor is the story finished yet. For a number of evenings in succession she must attempt to flee her bridegroom and go back to her father's house. If she succeeds, the husband must present his father-in-law with another calf. In these flights, she is aided by her own companions and hindered by the bridegroom's attendants; and in the course of these innocent struggles it is possible that a limb may be broken or that a little blood will flow.

The marriage feast is marked by ardent dancing, which ends at night in lascivious orgies, in which husbands and wives, lovers and concubines are no longer distinguishable and only males and females are left prey to an insatiable eroticism. At every noteworthy marriage, there must be bull races at the end, and for these each of the guests brings his swiftest-footed runners.

Wood describes the art with which a young Kaffir who is betrothed strives to please the maid whom he would make his own. Even when an agreement as to price has been reached, even when the parents on both sides desire the match, it is frequently necessary for the bridegroom to make his way into the good graces of the bride. Accordingly, the

young man proceeds to bathe, anoint and adorn himself and then goes to show himself to his fiancée. He takes a sitting posture, and when the girl has had a good look at him in this position, she tells her brother to have him rise, and then to have him whirl around, exactly as if he were a horse that she was thinking of purchasing and which she was putting through its paces. Quite often, the family is anxious to learn what impression the lad produces upon her; where-upon, she may reply that she wants to see how he looks when he is walking, and so the following day, the bridegroom must come past her hut to convince her that he does not limp, but that he walks with grace and elegance.

Men who are extremely ugly may remain eternal celibates among the Kaffirs, for no woman wants one for a husband. A missionary mentioned by Wood and who had lived for a long time in the Kaffir country, narrates how such a one, who had yet shown himself a valiant warrior and who was very rich, was still not in a position to be called a *man*, for the reason that he had never been able to procure himself a wife. He was too ugly. The king out of compassion had to grant him the right to put on the manly crown and to call himself *ama-doda*; exactly as we Italians give a *signora* (Mrs.) and not *signorina* (Miss) to a spinster who is a bit too mature.

Those Kaffirs who have the misfortune to be too ugly procure for themselves from their *Magi* a spell which will enable them to win the capricious favor of the women. It consists of a root or a piece of wood, a bit of bone, metal or horn, which he can carry with him. More often still it is a magic powder, which, without the girl's knowing it, may be hid in her clothing, in her food, or in her tobacco box. Yet in spite of it all, neither a wealth of cows nor a warrior's reputation nor the spells provided by magic can prove potent enough to bend the will of a young girl; the latter, beset by her suitor's annoying insistency, has recourse to flight, exposing herself to all sorts of hardships and perils in order not to be forced to submit to the abhorred embrace.

The Krumen tribes of Africa reduce marriage to a sale and purchase contract. When the young man has brought

the bride's father the purchase price, he takes the girl home with him and the marriage is over.¹⁰

In Yucatan, it was a custom for the bridegroom to serve for four or five years in the home of his future in-laws, this being the commonest method of obtaining a wife. The Chibchas purchased the wife from the girl's parents and it was not unusual for a price three times greater than that which had been offered to be asked. The requests were made by sending a cloak to the girl's father. An acceptance of the offer was indicated by sending back to the bridegroom some *chicha*. Among the natives of Oregon, the wife is acquired by purchase.¹¹

We fine-skinned Europeans, who nevertheless are covered with an impenetrable shield of hypocrisy, apply the term of dowry to the marriage price, but in very many cases it is a matter purely and simply of a contract of *purchase* and *sale*; with this to make it worse, that where the Kaffir gives the girl's father a price for the girl, with us it is the male who puts himself up for sale, demanding in exchange for himself a woman who is at once young, beautiful and with a handsome dowry.

I do not like to be too pessimistic, knowing well as I do that the battle of life and the furnishing of the family nest may call for the combining of two fortunes, along with the union of two bodies and two souls; but the economic problem of the family ought to be secondary to the problem of love, involving the harmonious accord of two bodies, two characters, two sets of feelings. On the other hand, how frequently do we see two parents eyeing their progeny and marrying them off mentally, with the sum total of two fortunes in mind! The sentiment of love cannot be called up at will, and it would be futile to attempt such a thing. True love will come later, will grow slowly like the grass of the meadow, will become a good habit, wholesome and hygienic like flannel, comfortable as an old arm chair. . . .

But in place of love too often there springs up the mutual antipathy between two persons who have been bought and

¹⁰ See Note RA, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹¹ See Note SA, in *Notes and Additions*.

sold; and the woman, who has a more ardent thirst than we men for a love that is true, deep and sincere, will thereupon seek in the crooked paths of adultery that joy to which she is entitled. This is why it is that so many marriages are nothing other than commercial firms for the manufacture, or better for the legitimatization of children, and the result is, a polygamous husband finds himself with a polyandrous wife.

PART TWO

IX

SEXUAL CHOICE

Ideal Love—Trial Marriage Among the Loangos—Poetic Betrothals—Child Marriage in Abyssinia—Suffumigation and Phlebotomy as Marriage Rites—Pre-natal Betrothals—Parental Consent Among the Hottentots—Orgiastic Ceremonies of the Tehuelches—Persian Customs—Wife Procurement by Exchange of Sisters—Tribal Causes for Divorce—Native Infidelity—Advertising for Wives in Europe—Pre-marital Freedom of Australian Girls; of the Maoris—Fiji Rituals: the Liku; the Warming—Malay Marriage Forms; the Djudur; the Semando; the Ambil Anak—Intermediate Forms—High Price of Wives in Sumatra—The Orang-Benua—North American Customs: Algonquins; Iroquois; and Others—Sexual Hypocrisy.

THE love which comes the nearest to ideal perfection is that which is marked by free choice and by mutual sympathy; that marriage which is founded upon love, which has known no unseemly violence or sensual refinements, and which bears upon it no tag of bought and sold, is assuredly the one that has the greatest chances of being lasting and happy.

Love by free choice is to be found at the very bottom and at the very top of the human ladder. We have seen how, among the Loango negroes, the young suitor had first of all to win the affections of the girl that he would make his; while without her consent, neither boundless riches nor ardent desire, nor the insistence of parents and relatives could prevail. If on the other hand the young couple are in love with each other, they can always manage to get along without either marital consent or a dowry. Marriage, moreover, is not finally consummated until after three nights' experience. On the first two mornings, the girl leaves the young man at cock-crow; but on the third she stays with him

until broad daylight, this signifying that she is content with him; and immediately afterward, the marriage is celebrated. If on the contrary, the two lovers should not be satisfied with their trial experience, they at once break off all relations, without the faintest stigma attaching to the girl.

Nowhere, perhaps, was marriage consent given with a greater degree of reticence than in certain districts of East Prussia.¹ It is the parents to whom the thought first occurs of joining their children in wedlock; but even when they are quite in favor of the match, the prospective bridegroom must still endeavor to make himself pleasing to the girl. Upon a certain feast day, the groom-to-be betakes himself with his father to visit his future father-in-law. They have a lunch together, after which they all go to church; there is much talking throughout, but the girl herself all this while is not visible. She is busied preparing the meal; but when the men go out to visit the stables and the fields, she looks out the window and beholds for the first time the young man who is being offered as her life companion, and it is with a deep curiosity that she studies his stature, gestures and physical lineaments. If she does not show herself any more that day, the suitor knows what fate awaits him, and must mournfully resign himself to a refusal. But if the girl appears at table, it means that there is hope, although the victory is not yet assured. She does not take a seat at the table, but serves the guests; and if as she does so, she takes occasion frequently to come near the young man's father and to address to him courteous words, it means that all is well; it means that the lad is pleasing to her and that she will take him as her bridegroom.²

In the district of Berent (Czernikau-Rudda), the betrothal is effected in a much more poetic manner. The bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, goes to the bride's home and asks: "*Have you not seen a wounded roebuck? I am a hunter, I fired upon a roebuck, and my hunting dog (one of the friends who accompany him) has tracked him here. Do*

¹ Reminiscences of the ancient Celts, among whom girls freely chose their husbands.

² A. Treichel, "Hochzeits-Gebräuche besonders aus Westpreussen," etc., *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, 1884, Vol. XVI., fasc. III., p. 197.

you mind if we come in and look for him?"—Or else, he says: "*We have just come from hunting, and we have espied a wounded roebuck who ran in here. May we come in and look for him?*"

The parents reply with an affirmative. The bridegroom comes in and sits down, while the bride and all her maids run away. The young men then, but especially the *hunting dog*, run after the girls, catch them one by one, and bring them to the bridegroom, asking: "*Is this the wounded roebuck?*" He keeps on answering no, until the bride is brought him. Then he leaps to his feet, embraces her and takes her as his own. A wedding feast follows, accompanied by pistol shots.

The lower classes in certain districts of East Prussia are betrothed in the following manner. The bride presents her suitor with a platter containing a kerchief, a wreath and a ring. The master of ceremonies thereupon takes the platter, saying to those present: "*Can you tell me what this platter signifies? I will tell you.*" He presents the platter to the bridegroom saying: "*Here you have the wreath of honor which the bride has brought you, signifying all the years of her virginity. Here you have the ring which she has brought you, with honor still and as God's servant. And here also is the kerchief, with which she has dried the sweat upon her body as she labored. You are to keep it, that you may dry the sweat of your body as you labor. Now you have all the things which your bride has brought you, and with them she has chastely, piously and zealously brought you herself, that you may have her to cherish and never do her wrong.*"³

Skipping from Prussia to the Aeta of the Philippine Islands, we are interested to find another much more poetic mode of conveying the nuptial consent. The suitor asks the girl of her parents, and the latter send her into the forest before sun-up. The young man may not leave home until an hour later, when he must go and track her down, bringing her back home before sunset. Should he be unable to accomplish this, he must desist from any further attentions to her.

³ Treichel, *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

One would never have looked for so much modesty and so much poetry in these benighted negroid tribes.

Among the Dayaks, the young man pays court to the girl of his choice in a manner that is quite poetic. He follows her about wherever she goes, assisting her in her day's work, carrying wood for her, and showering gifts upon her. When he feels that he has sufficiently won her affections, he enters by night the hut of his adored one and, seating himself beside her bed, he wakes her up and offers her the *siri*, conversing with her almost the whole night long. If she refuses the *siri*, the suitor must go at once, especially if the girl asks him to put out the coals on the hearth or to light the lamp.

Sexual choice is very frequently limited by parental consent, which may range from a moderate restraint laid upon love, its intemperance and its follies, to a complete replacement of all affection on the part of the contracting parties. Here, we have all the combinations possible, as may be seen in the course of a rapid and jaunting excursion which I propose to make with you from one to the other pole.

With the Eskimos, the young man asks the bride's hand of her mother, and if the latter consents, the bridegroom sends the girl a new dress. She puts it on, and this exceedingly simple ceremony expresses her consent and consecrates the marriage.

In Abyssinia, betrothal takes place at a very early age; but from the day they plight their troth, the pair must not see each other again. At Tigre, this precept is so strictly observed that the girl may not leave her father's house, believing that if she should disobey the law, she will be bitten by a serpent. Among the Fuego tribes girls when they reach the age of twelve set out to hunt for a husband, although they do not become mothers until they are seventeen or eighteen years old. The men marry from fourteen to sixteen. From among the various suitors, the girl's father always selects the strongest, the most adroit, and the most tractable, and agrees with him as to the number of otaria skins which are to be paid and the number of days' labor

which the son-in-law must give to the father-in-law. When the girl has a voice in the matter, she votes always for the handsomest and the strongest young man of the lot. The weak and deformed remain bachelors until death.

Among the Ciucks, marriages are almost always arranged by parents, and the betrothal is from earliest infancy. When the bridegroom has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, and the bride is eleven or twelve, they begin sleeping together.

Among the ancient Mexicans, a matron acting in the suitor's name asked for the girl's hand, and it was good form always to refuse the first request. Then the dowry was discussed. Where there were rivals for the maiden's hand, they might decide the matter between themselves by means of a duel. The girl's parents received presents from the bridegroom, although it cannot be said exactly that the marriage was made by purchase.

When an agreement had been reached between two families, the astrologers were consulted that they might fix a propitious day for the wedding. The initial ceremony consisted in a fumigation of the couple, as a sign of mutual esteem. They then reclined together upon a matting, where they partook of food in common and listened to a special sermon from a priest, who proceeded to tie their clothing together. For four days after this, the bridal pair were expected to fast and to concern themselves only with religious rites, suffumigations and lettings of blood. At the end of this period of time, the priest would bring them two new mats, and this would complete the marriage ceremony.

In Polynesia, betrothals were made from early infancy, but the engaged pair were *taboo* until the eighteenth or the twenty-first year. Occasionally, marriage ceremonies were gone through with even before the bride and groom were born.

When a Hottentot becomes enamored of a girl, he does not concern himself with winning her good graces, but goes to her father or the latter's representative. The girl's consent is almost always assured, and in any case it is a very minor question. In those rare instances in which the

Hottentot girl flatly refuses the man selected for her, she is given a chance to gain her freedom; but there is only one way in which this may be done, and that is by being able to defend herself against the bridegroom for an entire night, making use only of those weapons with which nature has provided her, muscles, nails and feet. Parental refusal, all in all, is of extremely rare occurrence, and never happens except when the girl has first been promised to another, from infancy or from early childhood.

When a Tehuelche wants a wife, he picks out the girl he likes best, and after putting on the best clothes he has, goes to her father, her mother or some other near relative and makes an offer of dogs, horses or silver jewelry. If these gifts are accepted, the marriage is concluded. The following day, the bridal pair go to live together, and a great dance is given, which almost always ends in general drunkenness.

Ramon Lista repeats the naïve dialogue which took place between himself and a Tehuelche chieftain (*cachique tehuelche*), who in very bad Spanish offered him his own daughter as a bride, and without asking for money or any other gift.

Vas ser compadre mio?

Si, hermano, yo compadre tuyo.

No querer casar con china, mi hica?

Ahora no, compadre.

Bueno: cuando vos querer, decir; yo dar china gratis.

You my godfather?

Yes, brother, I am your godfather.

You no want marry my lee'l one?

Why, no, godfather.

Good; when you want, you say; I give you my lee'l one free.

In Persia, the sacred books say that marriages decided by free choice on the part of the betrothed, have a curse upon them. The business of arranging a marriage is one with which only parents should concern themselves. The poets on the other hand give their preference to free choice in love,

and are accustomed to attribute a happy outcome to unions effected in spite of the most fiery paternal injunctions, and often even in spite of ancestral hatred, as in the cases of Hippolytus and Dianora or of Romeo and Juliet. Among the marriages famous in Persia is that of Rusten, whose parents were of adverse factions by birth and even of different religions, but who yet were destined to give birth to the hero, inasmuch as soothsayers had foretold that from the union of two young people of enemy factions the well-being of Persia was to spring.

The Australians of the eastern district of Victoria betroth their children almost as soon as they are able to walk. The proposal is made to the girl's father. If the latter consents, the girl is presented with an opossum skin rug. But where the man and woman have not been affianced from very early years, they must choose their partners at the popular dances known as *corroboree*; but upon this occasion, the young men are kept constantly under the eye of their relatives and friends. If a youth fancies a certain maiden, for the most part he does not trouble to ascertain the state of her heart, but is content with making his desire known to her father; since if the latter consents, the girl must obey. Should she flee, she may be slain; but her relatives may avenge her death. This sometimes occurs among the natives referred to here.

There is yet another method of procuring a wife. Two young men of different tribes and classes may exchange between them a sister or a cousin, but only with the consent of their chiefs. In this case as well, the consent of the girl is not necessary. The rule, nevertheless, is this, that the father alone may dispose of his daughter and give her away as a bride. If the father is dead, the son may dispose of his sisters with the consent of the uncle. If a woman has no male relatives, the chief may dispose of her, or frequently takes her as his own wife.

When a chieftain distinguishes himself as a valiant warrior and a clever hunter, the other chiefs vie with one another in offering him their daughters. The young men who belong to the chief's family are in an unfortunate

plight, since very often when they ask the prince's permission to marry a girl, they have to stand by and see her taken by him, and so sometimes are forced to remain bachelors.

When marriage is sterile, it may be dissolved. The woman returns to her own tribe and may marry again. When a woman is mistreated by her husband, she may place herself under the protection of another man, with the intention of thereafter becoming his wife. But for this to happen, the would-be protector must first meet the husband in an enclosed space and overcome him in the presence of the chiefs and the friends of the two parties. Once the victor, he becomes the contested woman's legitimate husband.

If a husband discovers his wife making love with another, he may consent to her leaving him, in which case he himself carries her hamper to her lover's house; but where there can be no marriage or exchange of women without the consent of the tribal chief, the wife must remain in the husband's house until a council has been called to ratify the new union.

A woman of princely family may, with the consent of the chief, wed another chief or the son of a chief, by simply going and sitting down in his *wuuru* beside his wife, a proceeding to which no opposition may be offered. But the first wife remains the mistress.

A man may be in love with a girl without his love being requited. He then seeks to procure a lock of her hair and, covering it over with grease and with red earth, he carries it about with him for a year. This makes the girl so sad that she frequently dies of a broken heart, and the result may be a bit of bloodthirsty vengeance.

Love by free choice, among the natives studied by Dawson in Australia, has little to aid it. If a young orphan girl runs away with a man of another tribe against her relatives' wishes, the abductor is notified that he must bring the fugitive back or she will be taken from him by force. This is done with arms, and frequently not without bloodshed. But if the woman succeeds in fleeing a second time with

her lover, she then comes to be looked upon as a legitimate wife. All this indicates good sense and a good heart.

A quite modern method of finding a husband, or more often a wife, consists in announcing one's desire in a newspaper and picking from among the many correspondents the most likable and most suitable individual. A special industry has grown up out of this and we have in Europe, and more especially in Germany and in England, many cases of respectable individuals desirous of founding a family who would procure themselves wives through newspaper advertisements.

In Australia, girls are betrothed very early, and from that day are looked upon as engaged girls usually are, being free nevertheless to make love when and as often as they wish. Once married, on the other hand, infidelity is severely punished, and often with death.

Among the Maoris of New Zealand, girls dispose of their bodies and their love in all freedom, while still maintaining a very modest demeanor; but once married, they are faithful to their vows. It would appear that this precocious abuse of love contributes to making them old before their time. Occasionally, they are closely affianced from babyhood, and are then as sacred as if they were wives.

When a young man finds himself in condition to take a wife, he casts his eyes upon some girl who is pleasing to him and lays prolonged siege to her. He almost always ends by making her his, even where relatives or acquaintances may be opposed to it. It sometimes happens that two youths of practically equal merit want the same girl. The parents thereupon suggest that the rivals fight it out; and each of the two taking her by an arm endeavors to drag her to his own hut. The winner claims the bride; but often, the poor Helen's arms are tugged out of shape and she is in a miserable state for some time to come.

At other times, the young man is refused by the girl and takes her violently. Then, in place of a duel, there is a real battle between the girl's defenders and the suitors' friends, and blood flows as in the death struggles of many

animals. It also sometimes happens that the girl is slain by someone on the losing side.

The Fiji girls are affianced from early infancy, no heed being paid to the age of those who ask their hands in marriage. The betrothal consists in the presentation of a small *liku* (loin cloth) made by the girl's mother to the suitor. From this moment, the latter takes the girl under his protection until the time of marriage. When a young man falls in love with a girl and wants to make her his, he applies to her father, making the latter at the same time a small gift. If an agreement is reached, there is an exchange of gifts between friends of the two parties, and a few days afterwards the ceremony takes place. It is known as a *warming*, and consists in bearing to the bride's house food prepared by her suitor.

In various parts of the Fiji Islands, the bride has four sacred days, in which she remains seated at home clad in her best and anointed with oil and saffron. After four days, she is accompanied by a throng of married women to the sea, where the natives are fishing and cooking the fish. The bridegroom is then sent for; he comes and sits down beside the girl, and they eat together, each giving food to the other. After this ceremony, the bridegroom must put up a hut for his bride, while the latter must undergo the painful tattooing which puts her into the class of mature women. In the meanwhile, she must remain all the while at home in order that the sun's rays may not reach her skin. When the hut is finished, the friends of the two families come together and there is a great feasting, everybody being supposed to be as prodigal as possible. When the feast is over, the girl is officially turned over to her husband, and changes the small *liku* of the young girl into a larger one such as a woman of her position should have.

When the bride is the daughter of an important chief, her father presents her with a dozen or fifteen girls or maids to keep her company in her new home. These are put in the custody of an elderly chaperon. As the bride leaves for her new home, relatives and friends crowd forward to shower her with kisses and caresses.

Williams has described ⁴ the leavetaking of a king with his daughter, who was about to leave the paternal home as a bride. She was weeping lustily, with the tears running down over her body, all freshly anointed for the joyous ceremony.—“Do not weep,” the father said to her; “you are not leaving your native land, are you? You are merely making a journey from which you will soon return. Do not look upon it as a misfortune to have to go to Mbau. Here you have to work too much, but there you will be able to take your ease. Here you eat food of whatever sort there may happen to be; there you shall have exquisite viands. But do not weep, for it makes you ugly.”

And while he was thus speaking, the worthy man-eating king was playing with locks of her hair, and making any number of complimentary remarks upon the beauty of his own daughter. Yet she was the very image of another daughter who had gone to Mbau the year before.

Among the Malays there are three forms of marriage. The *djudjur* is the purchase of the woman, who belongs with all her children to her husband, as a bit of hereditary property on his side of the family. The girl's parents lose all right over her, being able to do no more than weep in case she should be mistreated. The wife's price is generally very high, and this form of marriage accordingly is difficult and not engaged in until fairly well along in years. In order that the woman may be free of this absolute dependence on her purchaser, a small part of her price is sometimes withheld.

The *semando* is accomplished by giving the bride a gift, but it is the bride who pays the greater part of the wedding expenses. Husband and wife are upon the same independent footing and have equal rights over their children and their common fortune. In case of separation, however, the house remains with the wife, the children deciding for themselves with which of the two parents they prefer to stay.

The *ambil anak* is a third form of marriage, in which the bridegroom does not pay, but enters the bride's family

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

as a dependent, having no rights over the children. This species of marriage especially occurs where a family has only one daughter left upon whose worldly assistance they must rely.

In addition to these principal forms of marriage, there are other intermediate ones, among which is to be noted the one that consists in exchanging a daughter-in-law for a daughter.

At Sumatra, the only form is the *semando*; and when a second wife comes to join the first, she must receive a gift of forty florins. If a husband refuses to pay the debt of one of his own wife's relatives, the wife threatens him with divorce. Wife and children are then sold, and if the husband pays the debt, he may redeem them.

In certain regions of Sumatra, there are many bachelors, owing to the high price of wives. The girl sometimes conspires with the man she loves, to be sold at a reasonable price, or lets herself be abducted. The older nuptial rite, and which appears to be of Malay origin, consists in the husband resting his left knee upon the bride's knees. Upon the husband's death, the wife goes to the surviving elder brother.

Among the Orang-Benua, Netscher says the sole wedding rite consists of the gift which is made to the bride of an air-cane and that of an earthenware vase to the bridegroom. But according to Logan, the essential marriage rite consists in the pair's eating from the same plate. Borie mentions the long speeches which the chiefs make to the couple upon this occasion, and a ring which the bridegroom gives the bride. Among this people, marriage cannot take place without the parents' consent, and the head of the family continues to exercise great authority even over his married children.

The Battas of Sumatra have two forms of matrimony, corresponding to the *djudjur* and the *ambil anak* of the Maoris, and which consists in the purchase of the bridegroom or the bride. The wife may be sold, or taken for her husband's debts, may be sent back to her own family if no male children are born of the union, or may be exchanged

for one of her sisters. As a result of the high price of wives, many men die celibates.

In North America as a general rule, it is the parents who arrange the marriage, the pair accepting the arrangement even though they may not be in love, or may not even be acquainted with each other. They know that they can easily separate, if living together proves too unhappy. Among the Iroquois and various Algonquin tribes, the mothers most often see to arranging matches.

With the Iroquois, there is much hypocrisy in the sexual relations, of a sort which might be expected to characterise a civilized rather than a savage race. The youths and maidens have no intercourse with each other and may not even speak in public. This, however, does not prevent unfortunate consequences from occurring. One singular custom to be found in this tribe is the habit elderly widows have of seeking young husbands, frequently youths of twenty-five. The Iroquois marriage contract is solemnized with two sheaves of corn which the bride carries to her future mother-in-law as a present for the bridegroom. The mother-in-law gives her in exchange a slice of venison.

Another form of consecrating the union was when the bride went to the bridegroom's house and gathered in firewood for him. The youth then stretched out upon the ground beside the girl, and the marriage was accomplished.

The Ojibways, by contrast, let their children arrange their own matches; and where the elders did endeavor to impose an odious alliance, the young people would run off and get married on their own account. It was from this that the necessity arose of paying court. The aspirant sent the girl his finest piece of venison, and she sent back a slice of it well cooked, along with a few other gifts. The girls for their part vied with one another in being chosen by a doughty warrior.

The Osage maidens expressed their desires by offering the young man an ear of corn. A feast was then prepared, in which the two publicly proclaimed their intention of becoming man and wife. Those present, as a sign of joyous good-will, would then set about the building of a new hut

for the bridal pair. It would, in all truth, be hard to find a simpler or more beautiful mode of marriage.

Among the Execks, the marriage request was made by the bridegroom, by sending to the girl the fat of a bear he had slain and by assisting her in cultivating a bit of field, where they sowed together kidney beans and put up the poles to train them. This was a symbol of their intimate union to come.

X

THE LIMITATIONS OF CHOICE

Youth and Beauty as Sexual Excitants—Females in Heat—Sexual Hostility as a Result of Racial or Religious Hatreds—Sexual Prejudices Among Different Castes—Other Matrimonial Inhibitions—Consanguinity—Incest—Marriage of Brothers to Sisters—Of Other Close Relatives—Exogamy Among the Australians—The Mak-quarra and Kil-parra—The Matteri and Kanaru—Other Caste Distinctions—Plural Wives of Different Ages—Rape Among the Tornderups and Ballarooks—Adulteresses Slain by the Tupis—Punishment of Incest by Burning—Marriage of Mother and Daughter to One Man—Other Strange Tribal Customs in North and South America—Curious Matrimonial Customs in Europe—Self Immolation of Widows—Digital Mutilation of Hottentot Widows—Brutal Assassinations.

IN the sexual choice of animals, the only motive that holds sway is that attraction which is aroused by youth and beauty, and above all by the state of excitation of the sexual organs. Among the dumb animals, generally speaking, the male can only be attracted by the female in heat, that is, by one who is capable of being impregnated; and so it is, many females repulse the male after they have been impregnated. On the other hand, I have seen a nannygoat repel a lascivious and impotent old billygoat who was making advances to her, while seeking out in turn a young male in full possession of his powers.

Among human beings, however, the most ardent and legitimate of feelings may encounter insurmountable obstacles in the way of marriage or even of the mere sexual embrace. Racial, family and religious hatreds have in all lands and ages anathematized those loves which were held to be sacrilegious; and poetry and dramatic art have painted for us stupendous pictures of this struggle between love and prejudice, between love and the law.

Generally speaking, amorous relations between two races who hate each other are to be expressed by a complex formula, with two opposed and apparently contradictory factors entering into the case. The male ardently seeks out the females of the hated race in order to offend his adversaries in their most sensitive spot, while prohibiting his own females to mingle their bloodstream with that of the enemy.

Among peoples of a high degree of civilization and in the upper classes, no laws or codices are required in the matter; the women themselves would die rather than give their hand as a bride, or a lover's kiss, to a man who belonged to an oppressor race. Other very similar limitations are those demarcations that exist between various castes in the social hierarchy. Here, too, laws, prejudice and universal consent frequently succeed in snuffing out the warmest sentiments; and in many places and various ages, the executioner has been called upon to punish any infractions of opinion in this respect.

Another motive tending to inhibit matrimony is a degree of blood relationship between the man and woman, or what is commonly known as consanguinity. But sometimes this inhibition for moral reasons touches upon a degree of relationship which has nothing to do with blood, as in the case of a brother-in-law and sister-in-law. In a special monograph, and in my *Hygiene of Love*, I have gone at length into this question of consanguinity on the part of an engaged or married pair, studying it from a point of view at once hygienic and historic; and it is to this work that I would send the reader.¹ Here, I shall do no more than give a brief ethnological summary.

Lumping together the data of human relationships, it may be stated that the general rule is an abhorrence of consanguineous marriages, with incest being the exception. It may further be added that nearly all peoples have felt that incest was the greater sin the closer the bond of relationship was, uniting the two involved. Aside, then, from

¹ Mantegazza, *Studii sui matrimoni consanguinei*, 2nd. Edition, Milan, 1868.—Mantegazza, *Igiene dell' amore*, Bemporad edition.

fraternal and paternal incest, the various peoples have been formed by a series of links at a greater or less degree of distance from the long consanguineous chain.

Marriage between first degree relations, and even between godfathers and goddaughters, was punished by the ancient Mexicans with death. In the Mechoacan region, a man would frequently marry mother and daughter. Among the Mistecks, who for that matter had customs very similar to those of the Zapotecks and the Mexicans, marriage was permitted between the nearest of blood relations, and the chief of the tribe, in particular, would frequently take as a wife a woman who was very close to him. Upon the husband's death, the brother-in-law among the ancient Mexicans would take his brother's place as spouse, or at any rate as the girl's protector.

In Nicaragua, first-degree relationship was an absolute impediment to marriage. In Yucatan, one might not marry one's mother-in-law, one's sister-in-law, or one's female relatives on the father's side. Columbus found that in Haiti, marriage was prohibited between first-degree relatives.

The Incas, in order to keep their race pure, married their own sisters; but these were often daughters by a different mother. It would seem that the ancient Peruvians attached a greater importance to relationship on the female side; for Huayna Capac permitted the Orejones to marry very close women relatives, but on the paternal side only. In general, none the less, the Peruvians appear to have been little enough concerned with the matter of marital consanguinity.

In Egypt and in Persia, also, brothers and sisters wed each other.² Certain aborigines of California go farther than this, the father being permitted to sleep with his own daughters.

In the Bedouin tribes, a male cousin has preferential rights over female cousins; and Bastian, who reports the

² The Empress Placidia appears to have been in love with her brother; and Olympiodorus, in speaking of their passion (*τα συνίκη κατὰ σόμα φιλήματα*), has in mind, it may be, the same caresses that Mahomet bestowed upon his daughter, Fatima. *Quando* (says the prophet) *subit mihi desiderium Paradisi, ascutor eam et ingero linguam meam in os ejus* ("When a longing for heaven comes over me, I kiss her, putting my tongue into her mouth"). See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, etc.

fact, states that this would appear to have led to racial degeneration.

Consanguineous marriages were prohibited in America by the Charrua and the Abipones; and in North America, unions between persons of the same totem were likewise forbidden. The same occurs among the Chinese and Mongolians in Asia. The Arras forbid only the closest of blood bonds. With the Zulus, a marriage cannot take place between persons in the same male line. It is permitted, however, to wed a sister or all the sisters by the same wife. The Loango negroes permit marriage between cousins, but forbid it between uncle and niece.

Nowhere are consanguineous marriages looked upon with greater horror than in Australia. Dawson³ has given a lengthy account of the restrictive laws on this point among the natives of the eastern district of Victoria. 'The latter may not marry with persons *of the same flesh (tow' will yerr')*. These Australians are divided into tribes; each one belongs to his own father's tribe, and may not take a wife who belongs to that tribe. They are, moreover, divided into classes, and each belongs to his mother's class, and may not unite in matrimony with a person of the same class, "*since men and women of the same class are looked upon as brothers and sisters.*"

It is forbidden a man to marry in the tribe of his own mother or that of his own grandmother or into a tribe in which his dialect is spoken. He may on the other hand espouse a brother's widow, his dead wife's sister or a woman of her tribe; but he may not do this if he has been divorced from his wife or has slain her. He may not wed his wife's daughter by another husband.

The chieftains and their sons and daughters may only marry into other chiefs' families. If a chief insists upon marrying a plebeian woman, the children are not thereby disinherited, but such marriages are commonly held in execration.

When a married man dies, his brother is constrained to marry the widow, in order to protect and bring up the

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

children of the deceased. If the latter has no children, the chief sends the widow back to the tribe to which she belongs, and there she must remain until her period of mourning is over. At the end of this time, her parents, with the chief's sanction, agree upon a new marriage, and she must accept the match that is made for her. Her inclinations are never consulted. No marriage can be arranged or carried out without the consent of the chiefs, who above all must make sure that there is no *blood relationship*⁴ between the pair. This consent must be paid for.

This horror of consanguineous alliances is so great with the Australians, that no sooner is a love affair discovered between persons of *the same flesh* than the girl's brothers or other relatives with good reason fall to cudgelling her, while the unfortunate youth is dragged before the tribal chief and severely reprehended. Should he persist even to the point of ravishing the object of his affections, he will be beaten and wounded. If all this occurred with the girl's consent, she will be half killed. Should she actually die under blows that are a trifle too energetic, she will be avenged by a second beating administered by her relatives to the seducer. The child born of a guilty love of this sort is taken in by the parents and turned over to the grandmother for upbringing. Illegitimate births are very rare among these aborigines, when the penalty is such beatings and even the death of the guilty woman. The father as well is sometimes killed.

Since the European invasion, the Australians' rigorous laws in this regard are frequently violated, and it is to this relaxation that the natives attribute the weakness and feeble health of their offspring.

Brough Smyth, who has made a thoroughgoing study of the Victorian natives, asserts that Australian marriage was always by exogamy. Bulmer writes: the natives of the Murray district are divided into two classes, the *Mak-quarra* (eagle) and the *Kil-parra* (crow). A male *Mak-quarra* may not marry a female *Mak-quarra*, nor may a male *Kil-parra* wed a female of his class. The sons take their mothers' caste,

⁴ Literally, relationship of *the flesh*.

and not that of the father. The women are called by the men of their caste *sisters* (*wurtda*). Grey assures us of the same thing, stating that no man in Australia could marry a woman who bore his caste name, and adds that this is still the custom among North American Indians.

Wilhelmi writes that all the Port Lincoln natives are divided into two separate classes: the *Matteri*; and the *Kanaru*; and that no one may wed a woman of the same class. But seeing that each man commonly has any number of wives and that clandestine love affairs sometimes exist, Brough Smyth is justified in wondering how the institution of exogamy can be kept up. He gives us a diagram by way of tracing the matrimonial inhibitions among the aborigines of New Norcia.⁵

Samuel Bennett is responsible for the statement that in northeastern Australia the castes indicate the matrimonial possibilities. There are four classes, according to family name: *Ippai*, *Murri*, *Kubbi* and *Kumbo* are the names for the men, and *Ippata*, *Mata*, *Kapota* and *Buta* are the corresponding names for the women.

The natives of Port Errington are also divided into three distinct classes which do not intermarry. The Kamilarbi race is divided into six tribes and eight classes, and these classifications delimit with severe laws the marriage possibilities. The result of such restriction should be advantageous for the race, by outlawing consanguinity in the marriage bed; but the truth is, in certain cases, when an underpopulated tribe can only marry with an overpopulated one, the opposite effect is produced, that of combining more and more two bloomstreams, as a result of a limitation of sexual choice, a choice which among those peoples highest in the scale, knows no other frontier than that of the human family. However deeply Lorimer, Fison, Ridley, Howitt, Morgan, Bridgman, and many others, may have studied these restrictions on the part of the Australian races, Brough Smyth displays a commendable astuteness when he observes that we still need to do a great deal more research before we can hope to attain a complete understanding of

⁵ Brough Smyth, p. 81.

this ethnic problem; all the more so for the reason that the natives when questioned are only too likely to give such an answer as they think will be pleasing to the questioner, rather than being concerned with what is the strict truth.

Salvado says that the Australians may not marry until they are at least twenty-eight or thirty years of age, and may be punished with death if they disobey. He adds that "the result of this law is that the young men display a most noteworthy indifference towards women." He goes on to say that they are prohibited from marrying women of their own families. The ordinary custom is to have two wives, one aged from twenty to thirty, the other from five to ten. A wife is obtained by stealing her or by requesting her of her father. The good looking women are always carried off and passed on from one to another, being forced to take long journeys, since the ravisher wishes to put as great a distance as possible between himself and the scene of his crime.

While Salvado is quite indulgent towards the Australians, he depicts under colors that are far from pleasing the ill treatment which they inflict upon their women.

The natives of eastern Australia have very severe laws on the subject of matrimony. A Tornderup may not marry a woman of the same clan, but must select instead a Ballarook. This law is frequently violated, although violation is punished with death. There are continual quarrels over the possession of women and almost every day some man rapes a woman. In the course of these unending struggles, it is almost always the poor women who get the worst of it and who are killed or wounded, but all this does not alter the fact that rapes are quite as common today as they were forty years ago.

It is not rare to see an old man being affianced to a year-old girl baby; he must nourish and protect her, and wed her when she attains a suitable age, assuming, that is, that she is not carried off in the meanwhile. Upon the husband's death, the woman becomes the property of the oldest man in the family, who either weds her or presents her to an-

other married man in the same family. The marriage is not accompanied by any ceremony.

Singular laws limiting the choice of brides are to be found in the Island of Timor, as recently revealed to us by H. O. Forbes.⁶ There are in certain districts of Timor, as in Australia, *husband clans* and *wife clans*. The men of Manufahi, for example, may not purchase wives in the kingdom of Bibiçuçu, but the men of Bibiçuçu may buy them in Manufahi. The Bibiçuçu women may take husbands from among the Manufahi providing the latter come to live in the land of the bride until such time as she may die. But no money may be paid or accepted. The son of the Rajah of Manufahi may wed the daughter of the Rajah of Bibiçuçu, but cannot in any manner obtain her by purchase, nor may she set up housekeeping in Manufahi. He must remain at Bibiçuçu so long as his wife lives.

Saluki and Bidauk are two districts of the Kingdom of Bibiçuçu. The men of Saluki may marry the women of Bidauk and carry them off to Saluki, but are called upon to purchase them, nor may they remain at Bidauk with the bride's parents in place of paying the price. On the other hand, the men of Bidauk may marry with the women of Saluki, but the husband must go to Saluki and live in the wife's home, nor may he get out of this obligation by any money payment. If, however, a man of Saluki should select his wife from any region other than Bidauk, there would be no restrictions of this sort.

Among the Dayaks, marriage between first cousins is forbidden; an exception is sometimes made to permit the marriage of uncles and nieces. The marriage of the widower with the deceased wife's sister is not only permitted but encouraged. Among the Dayaks of Lingga, the hierarchic rights of the various social classes are respected, and one is not permitted to make love to a person of a rank different from his own. Quite often, love proves more potent than hierarchy, and the lovers go off together into the forest and poison themselves with the sap of the tuba. The ancient Peruvians devoted a great deal of attention to

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 416.

seeing that there was no admixture of social classes in wedlock; the ceremony was always between equals and was performed on special days.

With the Tupi of Brazil, a first degree blood relationship was an impediment to marriage, nor could one marry a daughter or a sister of a *turassap*, or intimate woman friend. An uncle might marry his niece. They did not have a marriage rite, but the consent of the girl's nearest relatives was required. The more valorous the young man was, the more wives he might have. One of them held first place in the household, but they all lived together in admirable harmony. In pregnancy and childbirth, the women were treated with great solicitude. No restraint was demanded of young girls, but wives were expected to be faithful. The adulteress was slain or ignominiously driven out.

Only the chiefs of the Guarani had many wives. With the Chiriguani, marriage is easily dissolved and a new one is as easily entered into. The aspirant offers the girl fruit and venison and leaves in front of her hut a bundle of wood. If she takes it and carries it into the house, his offer is accepted.

Among the Chibchas of Central America, the near grades of blood relationship acted as an impediment to marriage. In New England, marriage was permitted between brother and sister in the royal family when no other suitable match could be found. The Kerochees required that mother and daughter be married at the same time to the same man, while other forms of consanguineous marriage were prohibited. In the Caroline Islands, such marriages were punished with death at the stake. Among the Omahas, marriage was forbidden between even the most distant of relatives.

In almost all the Indian tribes of North America, marriage of old was only by exogamy, a custom which still survives in certain tribes. The children always belong to the mother's tribe. Every Iroquois tribe was divided into eight family groups, distinguished by their respective totems, the wolf, the bear, the beaver, the turtle, the roebuck, the woodcock, the heron, the hawk. The groups of the same name in a tribe looked upon each other as brothers and

were in reality blood relations. Formerly, the four first groups could only marry into the four last ones, and inversely. Later, the man and woman must at least belong to different groups. The children always belonged to the mother's group, and wealth, titles and power were handed down only in the female line.

In general, maternity was marked by a solemn consecration on the part of the North American Indians; in the case of separation, the children went with the mother, and where the rule was hereditary, it did not pass from father to son, but came down on the mother's side, for she must be of royal blood. It was, accordingly, almost always the son of the king's sister who became the royal heir. One never received a legacy from his father or his father's friends, but only from his mother, or from his maternal aunts and uncles. It is probable that all this is to be explained by the prevailing lack of chastity on the part of Indian women, rendering paternity highly doubtful. Yet the Indians are in the habit of saying that the child owes its soul to its father, its body to its mother. Perhaps it is for this reason that the body is more important than the soul.

Masculine infidelity, on the other hand, was almost necessary; since during the period of pregnancy, the man had to endure separation from his wife, which in Florida was protracted over two years. The pregnant woman lived apart in a separate hut, was given innumerable attentions, was commended to the care of the spirits, and in short was looked upon as a sacred thing. All this is very poetic. Just as the warriors of many races prepare themselves for great undertakings with fastings and chastity, so the making of a human being was looked upon as a lofty and holy emprise, one that was to be surrounded with rites, privations and sexual self-denial.

Love undergoes a special modification in many countries, through a state of widowhood on the part of the woman. Not content with wanting a woman wholly for himself while he is alive, man would not have her belong to others even after he is dead. Here, too, we have an ascending scale of

demands made, ranging from a simple few months' mourning to an obligation imposed upon the widow to slay herself upon the grave or funeral pyre of her lost spouse.

I find the lowest rung of this psychologic ladder in the customs of East Prussia, that is to say at Schwarzhau and elsewhere; here, when a woman remarries for the second or the third time, musicians climb up on the roof of the house as the bridal pair enter and serenade them down the chimney, so that the couple may not be struck dead. If any woman remarries for the third time, the bridegroom must come in through the window and make the rounds of his bride's house three times, to ward off bad luck.

In other regions of Germany, mashed straw is scattered in the couple's path, and in certain places the relatives insist upon the bridegroom's paying a cash indemnity.

In France, they indulge in the barbarous *charivari*; and in Italy, the same custom persists under the name of *scampanata* (Tuscany), or *tucca* (Pesaro), or *facioreso* (Novi).⁷

At Perugia, in the fifteenth century, widows were only married at night. There was a very old belief in Italy to the effect that the dead husband's soul would be grieved by his widow's remarrying. The title of *Univira*, which is to be found on some of the old tombstones erected to wives who had had but a single husband, was certainly put there by way of encomium. And the penances which priests in the early Christian centuries laid upon widows show that the Church itself disapproved. In the region of Naples, the widow must cut off her hair and offer sacrifices for her dead husband; and to this day, at Mineo in Sicily, she must go to church with her hair dishevelled. The nuptials of widowers are still hilariously interrupted in the country regions of Vercellese, Cuneo, Pinerolo, Novi Ligure, Valtellina, Comasco, Trentino, Pistoiese, Pesarese, Umbria, and Abruzzese Teramano.⁸

Araucan widows must remain apart from society for an entire year and stay shut up in their tents. They are required to smear their faces with soot, and not to eat the

⁷ See Note TA, in *Notes and Additions*.

⁸ De Gubernatis, *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

flesh of the llama, the horse or the ostrich. If the widow breaks from her prison and indulges in love-making, she is slain by her dead husband's relatives.

Widows and widowers at New Zealand were taboo, until the body of the deceased had been borne to its last resting place. Widows might remarry, as also at Tahiti. In the Marquesi Islands and at Samoa, on the contrary, they shaved off their hair and lived withdrawn from the world.

At Samoa, widows became the wives of the husband's brother. In war, all the prisoners are slain and their wives are taken by the victors.

In Haiti, certain of the prince's favorite wives must follow him to a living grave.

Some travelers assert that Hottentot widows may remarry, but only on condition that they permit the amputation of a few phalanxes from the fingers of their hands. These amputations, however, are differently explained by others.

The custom of slaying the widow after the husband's death or obliging her to slay herself, the latter being a form of homicide, are the most brutal assertions that there is of woman's inferiority to man. She is a bit of property, a thing belonging to the man; and when the latter dies, she must accordingly follow him to the grave. Add to this a dose of jealousy and of pride, and you will have, it is not unlikely, all the reasons that there are for the suicide and homicide of widows. In the same manner, animals and slaves belonging to the deceased are also killed.

In the Congo, at Angola and among the Marawi, the favorite wives of the deceased are slain, and the custom is still in force among the Tshewa of the Zambese. The cruel usage also prevails among the Yebu in Idah, and at Cameron. In Uraba, certain of the wives of a dead king are buried alive with him, as also at Carthage.⁹

Among the Knisteni, the wife often of her own accord slays herself upon her husband's grave. Among the Quakeolth of North America, there is preserved a vestige of the rite of cremating the widow. The widow here must put

⁹ See Note UA, in *Notes and Additions*.

her head alongside that of her husband as the latter is consumed by fire, and as a result she is more dead than alive when the ceremony is over. The assassination of widows was also practiced by the aborigines of the Fiji Islands.

Among the Ossets of the Caucasus, there is still in use a ceremony reminiscent of others yet more ferocious. The widow and the saddle-horse of the deceased are led three times about the grave, after which the woman can no longer be the property of any other man, nor may the horse ever again be mounted by another.

It is a matter of common knowledge how down to very recent times the wives of Indian Brahmans and other upper caste individuals were accustomed to commit suicide, and how difficult it is to this day to prevail upon widows to remarry.¹⁰ In China, it would seem, the barbarous custom is still in existence.

¹⁰ Mantegazza, *India*, Vol. II., p. 144.

XI

THE NUPTIAL PACT: FIDELITY AND ADULTERY

Definitions of Marriage—Numerous Forms of Marriage: Monogamy; Polyandry; Polygamy; Time Limits; Other Conditions—Marriage as Legalized Prostitution—Marriage as the Highest Sublimation—Women Used as Money—A Cannibalistic Incident—Communal Marriage—Ethnological Theory of Communistic Love—Promiscuity of the Techur—Common Fathers, Sons and Brothers—Darwin's Findings—Rôle of Jealousy—The Jus Primæ Noctis—Fidelity and Infidelity: a Jaunt Around the World of Mankind—Adultery Among the Arabs—Punishments for Rape; for Inconstancy—Horrible Consequences of Belief in Witchcraft—Poison Test for Virtue—Bube's Scale of Punishment for Unfaithfulness: Boiling Oil; Amputation; Decapitation—Shame of Sterility—Adultery as Common Theft—Primitive Phallic Gods—Among the American Indians: Punishment for Adultery: Amputation of Ears, Lips or Nose—Purchase of Small Girls—Among the Caribs: Monthly Change of Wives—Symbolic Violence—Slaughter of Proscribed Offspring—Exchange of Women—Tribal Customs: Abortion; Seduction; Divorce—Medieval Privilege of the Lord, the First Night.

IN speaking of the various methods by which a man may procure himself a woman, we have of necessity outlined the underlying legislation of the family, or at least we have put into place one of the cornerstones upon which the entire matrimonial edifice rests.

Writers on law give us these two classic definitions of matrimony:

"Marriage is the conjunction and life-long consorting together of male and female in accordance with human and divine law."

"Matrimony is a conjunction of the individual lives of a man and a woman."

However learned they may be, these two definitions afford us a glimpse of but a single side of that great polyhedron, the human family, which is always a factual union of a man and a woman, but which presents so many variations in architectural form as quite to leave behind those distances separating the Gothic style from the Moorish, or the Moorish from the classic Greek.

The marriage pact may be for a few days, for a few months, or it may last a lifetime; it may be monogamous in form, polyandrous or polygamous; it may represent the embodiment of the sublimest virtues and the most delicate sentiments, or the permanent prostitution of the woman; it may, in short, represent a sprawling in the most fetid mire of human abjectness, just as it may represent an elevation to the highest summits of idealism.

The family pact uniting a man and a woman takes its physiognomy and its value from diverse moral and intellectual elements brought by either sex to be laid upon the marriage altar; and its morality is to be measured by the varying degrees of justice with which man and woman share between them the good and ill that life may bring them.

Some idea of the distance which separates the distant poles of the human family may be formed by casting an eye over such data as the following:

In the Island of Unamarck, discovered by the Russians, the women served as money, and the price of any object was calculated in terms of women.

Among us, more than one wife will refuse a kiss to a man who adores her, in order not to betray that fealty which she has sworn to her spouse.

Wyatt Gill relates with horror a scene which he had witnessed in Australia, in which a man cooked his own wife and consumed her flesh with great relish.

Odoard, known as the Blind, Count of Devon, also known

as the Good on account of his virtues, after a tender commemoration of fifty years of faithful wedlock with his wife, Malel, speaks thus from the depth of his tomb:

*What we gave, we have;
What we spent, we had;
What we left, we lost.*

A number of ethnologists hold to the strange theory that the most ancient form of love was *communal marriage*, that is to say, that all the men of a tribe made love freely to all women of the same tribe, and that any woman in her turn might ask any man to embrace her.¹ It is true enough that, where prehistoric epochs are concerned, one may without too much danger give free reign to his fancy in the creation of theories and imaginary hypotheses; but human nature, for all of that, has a well established basis, upon which theories and hypotheses ought to rest; however distant and however low-reaching may be the boughs of that great tree to which we all belong, the sap that runs in it is the same always. We have with us today, as our contemporaries, men who are so impoverished in thought and feeling, so little human, in a word, as to resemble closely enough our forbears of the quaternary epoch; their psychology is the safest thing upon which to rely in forming an opinion as to what the featherless biped of prehistoric ages was like.

The truth is, communal love is never found as the basis of a society, as the daily mode of sexual contact, not even on the lowest rung of the tall human ladder. Communism in love may represent an orgy of drunken eroticism or a savage hymn to nascent puberty, but it cannot endure as a permanent state in any form of human association. For this to be so, we should have to assume that man has no memory for the pleasures he has enjoyed and no individual feeling for a woman, that the woman has no feeling of gratitude for the new joy with which she has been made acquainted nor pride at having been chosen from among many; we should

¹ Bachofen some time ago came out in support of this theory; he applied the term *hetairism* to free love among the older races (*Mutterrecht*, pp. 173, 328).

have, indeed, to look for men below the stage of almost all the mammiferous animals, not to speak of the birds, who at least for a given period have a wife, a lair, or a nest. Finally, the most abject of prostitutes, while they may give their bodies to hundreds and even thousands of men, still have only one lover; and when by exceptional circumstance they become mothers, they know very well who is the father of the child they feel stirring within them, it being very rare for them to make a mistake in this regard, a thing which may seem strange to those who are unacquainted with physiology.

Following are the data upon which the theory of free love or communal marriage is based, as being the first form of sexual union:

Maclean states that the Kaffirs have no word to express virginity. When a girl reaches the age of puberty, the thing is at once announced by means of a public festival, which at the same time announces to all that they may make love to her. In the Dar-For region, when the girl becomes a woman, she goes to live in a separate hut, where she sleeps, and whither anyone who desires her may come to spend the night.

Lubbock states that the Bushmen live without marriage.

Buchanan assures us that the Nais of India never know who their father is, and he adds that among the Techur of Oude, men and women make love promiscuously and with the utmost freedom, as do the aborigines of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

According to Div, the Caledonians had their wives in common, while children belonged to the clan.

Bagert assures us that in ancient California every man lived with every woman.

Garcilaso de la Vega (if we are to be generous in the matter of this catalogue) conveys the assurance that among certain peoples of ancient Peru, prior to the Inca empire, no man had a woman who was entirely his. In China, communal love lasted down to the time of the Fouhi, and in Greece down to the time of Cecrops. Thus according to Herodotus, the Massagetæ and the Ausonians of Ethiopia did not have wives, and Strabo and Solinus assert the same thing of the

Garamantes, another Ethiopian race. And Nicolaus says of the Galatophagi: "They have their women in common, as a result of which all adult men are known as *fathers*, all young men as *sons*, and all those of the same age as *brothers*."

These facts, drawn up in battle formation like this, may present the appearance of an army; but taken one by one, they are seen to be inexact or false or misinterpreted. Darwin, with his eagle's eye, saw the weakness of this reasoning, and very rightly asserts that the first men were polygamous or monogamous. An absence of jealousy, a need for new pastures in love, or dissoluteness may tend to render the family bond extremely weak or even to conceal it altogether; but communal love is not a permanent form of human love, for the reason that it contradicts the A B C of human psychology.

Külischer, who has devoted a learned work ² to a study of certain primitive forms of sex, has reduced to its proper place the theory of communal love. Later, Karl Schmidt demonstrated the absurdity of the theory, which has been used as an argument in favor of the *jus primae noctis*.³

Of whatever form the pact may be between a man and a woman who have joined hands to live together and procreate children, the fidelity of the pair is bound to vary considerably, depending upon the temperament of each, and even more upon those psychic, moral and religious demands made upon them by the environment in which they live. If the reader cares to come with me, we will take a rapid jaunt across oceans and continents, for the purpose of seeing how diverse are human ideas on the subject of the fidelity or infidelity of the two sexes in marriage.

Largeau, who has travelled much in the Sahara, says that adultery is most common among the Arabs of the Risha Oasis, despite all the jealousy and bloodthirsty vengeance with which infidelity is punished.

Among the Mandingos, if the woman's milk gives out

² Külischer, "*Die geschlechtliche Zuchtwahl bei den Menschen in der Urzeit*," in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnol.*, Berlin 1876, Vol. VIII., p. 140.

³ Karl Schmidt, "*Der Streit über das jus primae noctis*," *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI., 1884, p. 28.

during the nursing period, she is suspected of infidelity, and this may be grounds for divorce.

Among the Felups of Fogni, the woman abandons her husband whenever she chooses.

Dawson, who has made a study of the Australians of the eastern Victoria district, states in Latin (from fear, possibly, of offending the reader's modesty) that when a woman is violated, her husband has the right to slay the offender. Should the violated woman be an unmarried girl, the offender is beaten almost to death; and where his friends and relatives choose to take his part, a fierce encounter may result. If a woman of this district is noted for her loose conduct, she is dubbed *karkor neegh heear*, and an accusation is brought against her and she is punished by relatives. If she continues in the ways of inconstancy, a family council is held and, once her guilt has been established, her uncle or another relative (excepting the father or a brother) proceeds to kill her at the first opportunity with a blow on the back of the neck. The corpse is burned, and the ashes are thrown away, nor is anyone permitted to weep for her.

Often, however, the punishment is less severe. The ravisher of a woman may be put to the lance or boomerang test, meaning that he is to take his stand with no other defensive weapon than his own small shield and ward off as best he may the many blows of lance or boomerang which the girl's father or other relatives inflict upon him. It is very rare that the young gallant lets himself be wounded; but whether he does or not, once he has received the number of blows agreed upon, he is free of any further chastisement.

Among the Munda Kolhs of Chota Magpore, the woman, when she believes that her husband has been unfaithful to her, says to him: "Singbonga destined you for me, and here you are going with another."

Among the Chibchas of Central America, the adulteress was subjected to a judgment of God. If her guilt was established, she was shaved and then slain, unless there should happen along a rich man to redeem her life by paying a large sum.

Inasmuch as the negroes are very superstitious and see in

any slightest mischance a work of witchcraft, whenever one of a married pair happens to die, the suspicion very often readily arises that the other must be to blame. Laird and Oldfield tell us that, of the seventy wives of one prince who had died, thirty-one poisoned themselves in order to avoid the suspicion that they had been guilty of the prince's death.

At Loango, the virtue of a suspected woman was tested with poison.

At Sierra Leona, a woman is made to swear on her oath, and this oath is taken at its face value.

The Assanian women, of an Arab tribe inhabiting the south of Kartum, reserve for themselves a fourth of their liberty; every fourth day, they may go to live with the lover of their choice. Outside of this, the Assanian women are no more immoral than any others. A guest is given a house and a woman for the time that he remains with the tribe.

The Abyssinian marriage is dissolved upon the slightest pretext; and if there are children, the father takes the males and the mother the females. Ordinarily, divorced individuals remarry at once, and for this reason it is almost the rule to find children of different blood in a family. It is to be noted that the children of different mothers hate each other heartily, while those having the same mother and a different father live together quite harmoniously. It sometimes happens in Abyssinia that after a couple have got along together very well for many years, they have a second marriage performed in church, and this is inviolable.

In the case where a Zulu wife has presented her husband with children, while he may send her back to her relatives, he no longer has the right to claim restitution of the cattle which he paid for her, the children representing this value for him. But where the wife has died young leaving him without progeny, he may demand back the whole of the dowry.

Among the Amagxcoras, the wife may have in addition to her husband an *outicoloche*, or "little husband," who serves and loves her. This most singular custom on the part of the

Kaffirs is to be found in another very distant region, among the Aleutians. Adultery with the Kaffirs is looked upon as a crime against property. The woman has been purchased, and so has not the right to give herself to another. This not only represents a debasement of matrimony, but also acts as a temptation to infidelity, inasmuch as it is merely a question of a greater or less number of cattle to be paid by the adulterer to the offended husband.

Among the Kaffirs, divorce is a remedy for marriages that have not turned out well or which have proved sterile. The man technically cannot commit adultery. The woman alone is to blame, when she gives herself without her husband's permission. A girl is only to blame when she becomes pregnant. The Kaffir is his wife's master, but must take care not to treat her ill. She may flee her master's house; and in that case, in order to get her back, he must expose himself to the clawings and the drubbings of her women friends, and must end by paying a calf to the father-in-law. Where the bride refuses to return to the marital nest, her father must restore to the husband the dowry which has been paid. Children remain the husband's property. Of a number of brothers, the oldest must always be the first to marry; the others may then follow suit, as they see fit and without observing any chronological order.

Among the Andamanesi, however low in the psychic scale the race may be, marriage is a sacred thing. Divorce is extremely rare, and the wife seducer is slain by the husband.

Lewin informs us that the Khyounghas and the mountain tribes of Assam are very free in their love affairs before marriage, but that once married they are chaste. An unfaithful wife is a great rarity.

The Bube, of Fernando Po, have a graduated scale for the punishment of infidelity in the wife. For the first offense, the offender's left hand is cut off and the stump is immersed in boiling oil; for the second offense, the operation is repeated with the right hand; for the third, the offender's head is cut off and then there is no need of oil.

Sterility is a great misfortune for the women of almost all negro races. The woman without children is looked down upon and is often believed to have been guilty of libertinism before marriage. Upon the Gold Coast, she must treat as her own those children which her husband may have by concubines or slaves. In Angola, sterility is the object of so much vituperation that the woman is driven to suicide.

Among the Fulah, adultery on either side is punished as is theft, and in lower Casamanza, it may even be punished with death. Where, however, the adultery has been committed outside of the house, a sufficient punishment is a beating or the cutting off of a hand. At Futadjallor, wantonness is countenanced by the husband as in no wise impairing conjugal fidelity. Woman in this race would appear to have a much higher position than any of her African sisters, seeing that she is free to seek divorce, and may retain her dowry when it has been found that she has just cause for separation.

In the Marianne and Caroline Islands, the woman enjoys the utmost liberty to give herself to whom she pleases before marriage, but becomes quite chaste after marriage.

At Ponapi (Polynesia), the suitor offered the girl's father a gift, and if the gift was accepted, the marriage was concluded. There was a marriage feast, following which the bridegroom bore his bride home with him. If the wife died, the widower was called upon to wed her sister.

In the Caroline Islands, the husband might separate from his wife upon a mere whim, but the wife could not so leave her husband, being only granted a separation in case she was of a rank superior to his own.

The Badagas (India, Nilghiri Mountains), when they have no children, are accustomed to promise God a small silver umbrella or a hundred cocoanuts in case their wishes are granted. The sterile women turn to various gods, but especially to *Mahalinga* (big phallus), who is adored in the mountains in the form of an upright stone. Another deity

who is invoked is *Hette*, a special goddess of women, who has many temples in the Nilghiri. Another remedy that is looked upon as being very efficacious consists of the prehistoric stone hatchets which are sometimes to be found strewn the earth and which are believed to have sprung up spontaneously from the soil, for which reason they are known as *swayampha* (self-born).

If God does not grant the favor that is sought, the sterile wife brings home with her her own sister, but she remains always mistress of the house. When this cannot be done, the wife is sent back to her parents and remains there, or else weds an old man to help him in his work. Unmarried women who have children are disgraced. Abortions are not performed in the Nilghiri region, but the Toda and others often slay the newborn infant.

The bonds of love are very flabby with the Badagas. The husband may always send his wife back to her parents, and the wife may always abandon her husband. It frequently happens that three or four marriages are necessary before an enduring match is finally made.

The marriage ceremonial varies in individual cases. On one occasion, a number of musicians gathered in the bride's village, the bridegroom came along accompanied by many relatives, dispersed a few rupees to provide a feast for his friends, and then conducted the bride to his home. On another occasion, the bridegroom was too proud to stir out of his own house, and so they had to bring him his fiancée. As soon as she arrived she prostrated herself before him; and he, putting his foot on her head, said to her: "There, there, go and get some water." She went to get the water, and the wedding was over.

The bride's father commonly gives her by way of dowry a bull or a buffalo; and in case the marriage is dissolved, the result is no end of contention over the restitution of the dowry. Neither father nor mother may accompany the bridegroom.

When the wife enters upon the seventh month of pregnancy, there must be a second marriage to confirm the first.

The bride's relatives and friends are invited and come together of an evening. The guests sit on one side and the bridal pair on the other. The bridegroom inquires of his father-in-law: "Must I bind this rope about your daughter's neck?" No sooner has consent been given than he suits the action to the word, and after ten minutes or so the cord is untied. In front of the bridal pair are two platters; into one the bride's relatives cast their coins, while the bridegroom's make use of the other. Then there is a meal of milk and greens and the guests spend the night in that house or a neighboring one.⁴

The Dayak's are very jealous, although monogamous, and the women are more so than the men. If a wife discovers that her husband is unfaithful, she has a right to beat her rival to her heart's content, provided that for this impressive judicial operation nothing more than a club be employed. If the guilty woman is married, the husband has a right to beat her lover. When an unfaithful husband wishes to recover his wife's affections, he must go into the woods and hunt a human head, which upon his return he presents to his wife in order to put her into a tender, forgiving mood.

Among the Maori, matrimony was a serious institution, and adultery on the part of women was most often punished with death. Thomson says that fidelity was habitual with them when the marriage was fertile and rare when it was sterile. The wife's lover according to the same author, must endure a triple attack from the husband armed with a lance. If he was not wounded at the first onslaught, he might defend himself; and the first wound received by either of them decided the contest. Nicholas informs us that adultery was punished by putting the seducer to death, if the sin had been committed in his house; the wife was put to death, if it was committed outside her house. Dieffenbach says that the betrayed woman customarily killed her rival with her own hands, and that sometimes she killed her guilty husband as well.

* See Note VA, in *Notes and Additions*.

At Tahiti, separations were frequent when a marriage was sterile. But reconciliations were also frequent. At Tonga, too, the bonds of matrimony were easily broken and the woman who had been put aside was her own mistress; whereas at Samoa, the widow whether by death or divorce was forbidden to remarry. Here, the wife guilty of adultery must die, but frequently they killed one of her nearest relatives. The betrayed husband might scratch out an eye or bite off the nose of his unfaithful wife.

In the Caroline Islands, adultery was regarded as a grave offense; but it was not punished in the man, whereas the unfaithful wife was driven from the house, but often only for the space of a couple of days. She might even be wholly forgiven. In the Marianne Islands, a married pair might separate at will, but goods and children remained with the wife. If the woman was an adulteress, the husband might retain her fortune, drive her out, and slay the lover. If on the other hand it was the man who was unfaithful or suspected of infidelity, all the women of the country would fall upon him, attempting to slay him and destroying all his property. Even where the woman had no reason for not loving her husband, she might return to her own home and her parents would wreak destruction upon her husband's possessions.

In the Caroline Islands, marriage could be celebrated without any feast. In the Marianne Islands, there was a solemn nuptial banquet at which the bridegroom must give an exhibition of his agility. In many islands of Micronesia, married women were expected to lead a regular life and adultery was punished with death. At Rotuma, widows might not remarry, but shaved their heads and dyed their skins black as a sign of mourning.

In these islands, parents married off their children after having consulted the latter's feelings in the matter; but sometimes, the father would force his daughter to take a husband whom he had selected; and sometimes, it was the chief who imposed the union. At Tukopia, after the suitor had had the girl's consent as well as that of her parents, he would have her borne off at night by his friends, afterwards

sending to her parents gifts of food and mats, and inviting them to a feast in his house which lasted one whole day.

Adultery was punished in many North American tribes by cutting off the hair, amputating the ears, the lips, or the nose, and sometimes by beatings. In the Carolines, by contrast, the matter was settled with small gifts. The seduction of a woman proved sufficient to separate for all time the Assineboins and the Dakotas and make of them two enemy peoples.

With the Clasci, the bride is obtained through gifts and marriage is consecrated with a feast. The bride receives a trousseau, which is restored to the groom in case she proves unfaithful. The husband in such a case also takes back all the other gifts he may have made her. But if he turns his wife out for any other reason, he must permit his wife to take her dowry and trousseau. Divorce may also be by mutual consent, the children remaining with the mother.

The widow marries the brother-in-law or a son of her husband's sister. The brother-in-law often acts as a sort of assistant husband while the spouse is still living. The bridal pair are supposed to celebrate their marriage with a four days' fast, and the ceremony is not completed until four weeks later.

It appears that at Vancouver it is the custom sometimes to purchase little girls of from five to seven years in order to bring them up and sell them later at a higher price when they have reached the age of puberty.

Among the American Chinooks, matrimony is effected through an interchange of gifts, but is readily dissolved. Adultery on the part of the woman was once punished with death, but no longer is today. Among the Oregon Sahaptin, husband and wife may separate at will. In many of the Selisch tribes, the husband may repudiate the wife, but the children go to the mother. When the wife dies, the widower marries her sister; but the marriage may not take place until one or two years after the consort's death. Matrimony in this race is not marked by any special ceremony, but the bridal pair must listen to speeches and admonitions concerning their new duties on the part of relatives and elders.

Among the Caribs, the bridegroom to solemnize the marriage, brought bread, meat and the necessary wood with which his father-in-law might build the new house; and he received from the hands of the *piache* his deflowered bride. The bridegroom lived in his father-in-law's house and spent a month with each of his wives, most of whom were sisters. He must however avoid intercourse with the wives' relatives. Adultery was punished with death or with the penalty of like for like; it was occasionally pardoned, but never in the seducer. The man alone might seek a separation, and the children remained with the wife.

Among the South American Yurakara marriage is a very serious institution, and divorce is unknown. Veitia states that a part of the marriage ceremony was performed in the temple, where a priest covered the bridal pair with a cloth on which a skeleton was painted. Later, the bride's chernise was borne in triumphal procession. Among the Mistecks, a lock of the bridegroom's hair was cut off, the bride and groom clasped hands, and the former was carried on her husband's back for a considerable distance.

Adultery was punished among the Mexicans by stoning, and if the husband endeavored to save his wife from this penalty and take her back home with him, he was severely punished. In case of divorce, the property of husband and wife was divided, and the sons went with the father, the daughters with the mother.

It appears that in San Miguel (California) the newly married pair were required by law to scratch each other until the blood comes, as a symbol of the conquest by violence.

With the Central American Quiches, the suitor must serve in his future father-in-law's house and make him gifts. Among the American Chibchas, the adulteress was brought before a tribunal; and if she was found to be guilty, she was shaved or put to death, unless there was someone of importance to ransom her.

Married women in ancient Peru lived modestly and virtuously in their own homes, intent upon their domestic tasks and assisting their husbands in the work of the fields. Adultery in that country was punished with death, in the case of

the unfaithful wife and in that of the seducer. It was disgraceful to have children outside of wedlock, but illegitimate young ones were brought up in special government houses.

There was no real wedding ceremony with the Tupi of Brazil, but to conclude a marriage the consent of the bride's nearest relatives was necessary. Adultery was punishable with death or divorce. The Ciriguani also have no nuptial rite. The suitor brings the girl fruit and venison and forms a pile of wood in front of her hut. If she accepts this and carries it into the house, his request is granted and marriage follows.

The king of Ashanti's sisters select their own husbands and must follow them to the grave. Queen Zinga of the Congo had many husbands, but these were permitted to marry other women, with the provision that they slay the offspring of such union. Ladies of royal blood in the Congo and at Loango select their own consorts and get rid of them at their own whim. If the husband is already married, he must seek a divorce and contract no further alliances.

In the Bay of Corisco region (Africa), the husband may send his wife back to her family when she has ceased to please him. Among the Fanti, the son inherits his father's wives, with the exception of his own mother, but may not touch them until a year has elapsed after his father's death. This custom prevails among the Papels, the Vambarras, and at Cape Palmas. With the M'Pongos, it is a mark of filial piety to wed the wives left by one's father.

Infidelity in marriage is exceptionally punished, in the man as well, in the Great Bassam (Africa), where the unfaithful husband must pay his wife a fine in gold dust. If the wife is guilty, the seducer becomes a slave and must pay to redeem his servitude. In other African countries, the wife and the seducer become slaves at one and the same time. In the Congo, despite the prevailing debauchery, adultery is punished with death. The Edeeyahs punish adulterers by depriving them of a hand, and in case of a repetition, offenders are driven from the tribe. The Ashanti cut off the nose of the unfaithful woman. In the Dahomey region.

among the lower classes, infidelity is punished (or better, is rewarded) by an exchange of women; but in the case of the well to do, the penalties are heavier. In the Winnebah district, the seducer must pay the price put upon the woman (generally sixteen crowns) and take her as his wife. Douville says that this is also done in the Congo.

In certain provinces of India, the creditor has a right to demand the debtor's wife, and may keep her until the debt is paid. If the wife remains with the creditor for a number of years and the debt is paid, the children born in the meanwhile are divided between debtor and creditor. In certain regions of Asia, the creditor may also sell the debtor's daughter.

The laws of *Manu* permit the making of a child by proxy. In Verse 59, Book IX, we read: "Where there are no children, the progeny desired may be obtained through the union of the bride, duly authorized, with a brother or other relative." The offspring in such a case is accredited to the sterile husband, since Verse 145 of the same Book IX has this to say: "The seed and what comes from it belong of right to the owner of the field."

The Circassians only approach their wives clandestinely, and may not be known as husbands until a child has been born. The Turkomans also visit their wives in secret for six months or a year after marriage, the Futa for three years. The Hyongtha do not touch their wives for seven days, and may not have children for three years. The Australians kill the first-born because they believe that they are weak.

Divorce is sometimes a very simple matter, being reduced to a question of bread. Kolff has an interesting anecdote here concerning a Papuan of New Guinea, who, upon setting forth on a fishing expedition, left his wife with provisions of food for one week only, thinking that he would be absent for no longer than that. But contrary winds kept him away for two whole months. The poor woman, having run out of provisions, had to apply to a neighbor, with whom she gradually fell in love. Believing the husband to be dead, the pair went to set up housekeeping in a neighboring island.

The husband upon his return stormed and raged and

demanded his wife back again. Her brothers went to get the fugitives, and the husband insisted upon an enormous indemnity, which the other man, if he were to work all his life long, would never be able to pay. The elders having been consulted, they ruled that the husband had been very much to blame in having left his wife so slenderly provided for; if he had not done this, she would not have been unfaithful to him; and so they decided that the other man should pay only a small fine, adding the injunction that the husband should take a little more thought for household provisions the next time he went on a fishing trip, a perfectly logical decision and one worthy of a Solomon.

In no race, perhaps, is divorce so easy as with the Dayaks of Borneo. H. John says that he knew many men and women who had been united in marriage as high as seven or eight times before they found a suitable mate. A young girl of seventeen had already had three husbands. A sufficient ground for divorce is sometimes the fact that the marriage pair during the night have heard the singing of some ill-omened bird. It is rare, however, for husband and wife to separate when they have children; and if they do so, the wife's family demands a pecuniary recompense of the instant husband. Husband and wife are often to be seen separating over some trifling thing or other and, a short while later, coming back repentently, making peace with each other and patching things up once more.⁵

⁵ In ancient Greece, the law punished adultery with death; but the law was almost never enforced, the guilty party being left to the discretion of his mate, who was almost always satisfied with having a beating administered to the culprit.

At Cumae in the Campagna the adulterous woman was stripped and exposed to the insults of the crowd for many hours, after which she was ridden on an ass through the city. She remained dishonored forever after, and was called *ovoβάτης*, *she who has mounted the ass*. There are those who say that, in Latium, in times yet more remote, the adulteress was subjected to the *lubricity of an ass*. At Rome, there was a time when a woman caught in the act of adultery was compelled to give herself to all comers, lots being drawn to determine who should have her first. According to Socrates the Scholastic, this custom lasted down to the fifth century of the Christian era. The Roman Senate and Emperors were particularly severe in the case of a married woman who had prostituted herself, or in the case of husbands who plied the contemptible trade of pimp. All will recall the custom of exposing a new born infant upon a shield laid upon the surface of a river, when the father had cause to doubt the legitimacy of the child.

The Gauls and Germans. Tacitus tells us, were extremely circumspect in

A question that comes up in connection with the fidelity of the married pair is that of the *jus primae noctis* originally an obscene tax laid by feudal lords upon their vassals, giving the lord the right to the bride's first embrace.

Karl Schmidt, in a very recent work has undertaken to prove that a belief in the existence of a *jus primae noctis*, as exercised by feudal lords in the Middle Ages, is due to nothing other than a *gelehrter Aberglaube*, that is, a mistake on the part of scholars. But despite all the enormous erudition which he has adduced to support his thesis, he has not as I see it succeeded in overthrowing an opinion put forth by so many authoritative writers, and what is more, one of world wide acceptance. His study, for all of this, is far from being a superficial or a useless one. He has subjected to a severe criticism much of the data which previously had been too readily accepted; he has been able to distinguish and to separate clearly things that are different in character; he has in a word restricted within proper limits our fund of knowledge concerning this law, or I rather should say, this usurpation on the part of the strong of the right to enjoy a young bride's first embraces.

If for many races the unpleasantness connected with capturing a girl's first bloom outbalances the pleasure of being love's first teacher to the woman, so that one is only too willing to leave to others the task of breaking the hymen, reserving for himself the full blown rose, it is none the less true that for the vast majority of mankind it is a sovereign delight to be the first in the amorous conquest; and the privilege of possessing a virgin is and will be always one of the liveliest desires and proudest pleasures on the part of all men under the sun.

And so, it is only natural and to be expected that many tyrannical lords should take to themselves as a precious right the privilege of being the first to enter love's sanctuary. Schmidt himself has gathered many historic facts which tend the matter of marriage ("*severa illic matrimonia*"), and the husband had no need of resorting to the courts, inasmuch as he himself was judge and executioner in questions of conjugal fidelity. The Visigoths, the Burgundians and the Franks inflicted terrible punishments upon wives taken in adultery.

to confirm this truth; and although he may employ the term *Schandthaten der Tyrannen*, he is nevertheless, without meaning to do so, setting up a formidable argument against his own thesis. Heraclides Ponticus, 340 years before Christ, tells how, in times which even to him were ancient, in the Island of Cephalonia, a certain tyrant was in the habit of taking the virginity of all girls before they were married. A certain Antenor saved a girl from this outrage by clothing himself as a woman and slaying the tyrant with a sword hidden under his garments. For this heroic deed he was made prince.

In the Talmud, also, we read that the virgin before going to her husband must sleep with the *Taphsar*. In Arabian books from the ninth to the fourteenth century, are found many very similar traditions, which may be connected with facts brought to us by Valerius Maximus and Lactantius. Herodotus relates that among the Adirmachides, those virgins who wished to take husbands were presented to the king who, if he found them to his taste, would deflower them.

In Barros (1542), we read that in the Island of Greater Canaria, "the woman might not marry until they had been corrupted by these knights". And in Cadamostus, with reference to Teneriff: "and they do not from a virgin become a woman, until they first have slept with their Lord one night, and this they hold to be a great honor."

Paul Viollet is quite right when he insists that the medieval *jus primae noctis* represented a vestige of the slavery of old. It is natural that the slave girl, belonging wholly to her master, should give the latter among other things the first fruits of love; nor can all the objections or the logic of Schmidt prove the contrary. It is not necessary to find in the written laws many things which, imposed at first with violence, have since become a custom more potent than any codex. How otherwise are we to explain such words as *cullage* (*culagium*), *jambage*, *cuissage*, "virginal" tribute, *gambada*, *derecho de pernada*, and similar expressions, unless we do admit a *jus primae noctis*, a right which was first literally exercised and later redeemed by a money tax. Schmidt's explanation is a truly ingenuous one, to the effect

that we are here dealing merely with a jocular expression (*ein bloss scherzhafter Ausdruck*).

It appears that this rite of *cullage* was not any too greatly appreciated in certain cases since it was sufficient to pay five sous or even three in order to be exempt from it. Occasionally, the lord did not actually exercise the right to deflower the young bride, nor did he demand a money equivalent, but would be content with putting one leg into the nuptial couch, by way of showing that he might have put both there had he so chosen. (Boerius, 1551.—DuVerdier, 1600.—René Chopin, 1600.—Bishop Flechier of Nîmes, 1710.)

The *jus primae noctis* is something according so well with man's proud, haughty and lascivious nature that we still see it, not in writing, but in practice in the society in which we live. How many poor corrupted girls have sold their virginity in exchange for a more or less generous dowry and how often has a husband consented to sell the *jus primae noctis* to someone who procured him financial ease.

XII

POSITION OF THE WOMAN IN MARRIAGE

Authority of the Wife: the Anaia—Wife-Beating Among the Damaras—Purchase of Wives; Prices—The Wife as an Idler; Hasheesh Smoking—Desirability of Polygamy; Lightens Household Burdens—Woman as Man's Equal—Bridal Cloth of the Balantes—Viraginous Mandingo Women—Beastly Labor of Kaffir Wives—Double Standard of the Patagonians—Wife Slaying as a Marital Privilege—Inferior Treatment of Women: Forbidden Pleasures—Tender Eroticism of Cruel Savages—Annual Re-marriages—The In-Law Question.

IN the preceding chapter, we have seen the varying account that is taken of fidelity in the love pact, and in so doing, we have of necessity covered historically a good part of the comparative morality of matrimony. It now remains to be seen what position is assigned the woman in the point of family hierarchy and authority by the various races. We shall thus complete the ethnic psychology of matrimony.

We shall let facts speak for themselves; for when facts have been faithfully gathered and arranged in due order, they possess always a greater value than the most brilliant and the boldest theories.

The Kabili, who look upon the woman as a piece of property to be bought and sold, nevertheless regard the *anaia* given by a woman in her husband's name as inviolable. The *anaia* is a written or spoken word suspending hostilities of any sort and assuring safe conduct, protection or asylum to a traveler.

A man of the Hai-Bonyuncef tribe, desirous of crossing the Hait-Menghellet region, went to seek the *anaia* of a friend that he had in that tribe. The friend was absent, but

his wife gave the traveler, as a sign of *anaia*, a she-goat that was well known in the district. Shortly after, the goat returned alone and covered with blood; a search was instituted for the traveler, and he was found assassinated. The other tribe thereupon took up arms and made war on the village.

Masiko wished to purchase a she-goat of a native near Lake Nyanza, and was about to conclude the bargain, when the wife of the man who was selling the goat came up, saying: "One would think you weren't married! Selling a goat without consulting your wife; what kind of a way to do is that? Who are you anyway?" Masiko insisted: "Let her have her say, and then we will do business"; but the husband replied: "No, I've stirred up too much trouble for myself already;" and he declined to go through with the bargain.

Among the Balondas, also, the woman enjoys a similar authority. Livingstone saw one of these wives preventing her husband from selling a chicken, simply to show that she was the mistress.

At Loango, women may only speak to their husbands on their knees. And most of the negro women take no part in society or in the diversions of the men, and may not eat with the latter.

Among the Mandingos, the wife who has been mistreated may make a complaint against her own husband. At Soulimene, the marriage bond may be dissolved, with restitution of the price paid for the bride.¹

Among the Damara (southwest of Africa, about 20 degrees south latitude), the husband has less authority over his wife than in many other African countries. He may and does beat her lustily and often, but the woman may flee him and go to live with another man who treats her better. Galton, who wrote a good book on the Damara, says that the women have very little affection for their husbands or their children, and that sometimes it is difficult to say to whom a given woman belongs.

¹ See Note XA, in *Notes and Additions*.

The wife costs a husband nothing, for the reason that she procures her own food; but he cannot do without her, since she does the kitchen work, serves as a beast of burden and keeps his house clean. Every woman has her own hut, which she fashions with her own hands. Polygamy is in vogue, but the wives are few in number, and there is always one who is superior to all the others and whose first born is the heir.²

The Ovambo, or Ovampo, call themselves *Ova herero*, or the happy people. They may have as many wives as they can purchase. The price differs, depending not so much upon the beauty of the bride as upon the suitor's means. Women cost much less than among the Kaffirs. The common price is a cow and two bulls. A rich man may pay three bulls and two cows. The king pays only with the honor which he confers. There is one principal wife in a royal ménage. Her first born is successor to the throne; but if she has no children, the throne goes to her daughters.

Among the Makololo (southern Africa), the women have about as enviable a position as possible, seeing that the men take all the hard work upon themselves. It is the women, however, who must build the house and look after domestic affairs; but inasmuch as they have many servants, there is little labor attached to this. For this reason, they keep their beauty until well along in years. Their idleness, on the other hand, proves a pitfall; they take to smoking hasheesh and drinking beer and their health suffers as a consequence.

The bride is paid for, but is always looked upon as the property of the family from which she comes. Indeed, when a Makololo loses his wife, he must send a bull as a gift to her parents, to compensate them for the loss they have suffered.

Polygamy is general, but is looked upon rather as a blessing than anything else by the women themselves, who are in the habit of distributing the work among them, and who would rebel at the introduction of monogamy. It might even be said that polygamy is necessary as a mode of hospitality, this being one of their prime duties and pleasures.

² See Note YA, in *Notes and Additions*.

With the Balantes (eastern intertropical Africa), the women lead a hard life, being required to prepare the food, do all the work of the house and till the earth, while their husbands busy themselves only with the preparation of palm wine. When a Balante marries, he presents his bride with a piece of cloth, and the marriage lasts until the cloth is ripped up. If the wife is happy, this cloth is jealously guarded, and is only brought out on solemn and state occasions. If, on the contrary, she would like to recover her liberty, she makes haste to wear it out, by washing it every day and pounding it in a mortar, under pretense of taking the spots out, after which she stretches it out on thorny bushes. Her family is then called in to have a look at the cloth, and she goes home to her father, but is not able to marry again for two years after.

Among the Banyai, who live on the southern coast of Zambese, about sixteen degrees south latitude and thirty degrees east longitude, the woman is held to be the equal of the man, and in certain respects his superior. The wife is not bought, but the bridegroom must go to serve in his father-in-law's house, where he works as a slave. Should he wish to leave, he must abandon wife and sons, unless he chooses to pay a large sum. No one transacts the slightest business without consulting his wife, and women go alone to market to sell goods and make purchases.

In the Niam-niam tribe, the young man who wants to take a wife asks her of the chief of the region, who grants him permission. Despite the vague polygamy which is prevalent among them, the marriage bond loses nothing of its sanctity, and adultery is punished with death. To have many children is a great honor for the mother. The wife is warmly cherished by her husband. The bride is conducted by the prince to her bridegroom's house, accompanied by musicians, minstrels, and clowns. There is a feast at which all take part, although the women generally eat by themselves in their own huts. The woman has charge of the house and the kitchen, and paints her husband's body and combs his hair.

Among the Mandingos, the woman has the man under her feet, although the family is polygamous. When she becomes so overbearing that her husband threatens her with divorce, she calls upon her sister women for support, and they all go in a body to the husband's house demanding justice for the wife, who is always in the right.

Among the Namaqua Hottentots, husband and wife quarrel incessantly. The woman is constantly spewing forth her whole rich lexicon of curses and insults, while the man who is less eloquent can only respond with blows. A few minutes after, you will see husband and wife smiling and caressing each other. It might be said that, even though she is on one of the lowest rungs of the human ladder so far as family relations are concerned, the lot of the Namaqua woman is not the worst in the world, since the husband at least takes upon himself the major share of life's burdens. And furthermore, since slavery exists among them, the women can easily put their more grievous tasks upon the backs of slaves, who are for the most part *Danara*, or bushmen, more rarely prisoners of war.

The Kaffirs put upon their women the hardest of labor, reserving for themselves only the more pleasing occupations. They make no bones about the matter, but will tell you quite frankly that they buy their women as they would so many oxen, and that they buy them to work. An English missionary, who was doing his best to shame a Kaffir in this regard, by citing the manner in which Europeans treat their wives, received this reply: "*We buy our wives, and you do not; and so there can be no comparison.*" According to Kaffir law, a wife is a piece of property belonging to the husband, an object legitimately purchased and which he may dispose of as he may see fit. Even should he choose to kill her, no one would have the right to intervene.

The Zulu woman with it all is sometimes able to acquire a great political influence, especially when, in addition to the experience of years, she has the good fortune to be a mother or near relative of a minor chieftain. A number of

women have held the rank of queen and have left their mark in Kaffir history.

If the Zulu does not often slay or manhandle his wife, it is for the reason that he would be punished with a fine (*izigs*). It is also very rarely that he separates from her; but this is merely because it would be very difficult for the father-in-law to make restitution of the purchase price. A Kaffir's first and daily thought is to get as much as he can in the way of labor out of his wife and to have as many children as possible by her, in order that he may thus get back the amount he has spent in purchasing her.

The Wanyoro of Africa make their wives work very hard, and beat them if they come out of their own precincts. Infidelity is punished by making the seducer pay a *heavy* fine and by cutting off one of the adulteress' hands or feet. Occasionally, the latter is killed.

The tilling of the fields, which is hard work, is the task of women among the Mandingos, the Krus, the Congo, Loango and Gaboon negroes, throughout almost the whole of the Baghirmi region, among the Mosquito Indians, the Batta, and many other Malay peoples.

The Patagonian women work hard enough, but are not mistreated. The husband feels it incumbent upon him to defend his wife in any quarrel; and even where he may beat her within the four walls of the tent, he always treats her well in public.

In many races, the inferiority of women is so established by usage that they may not even eat with men, but only by themselves. This custom is to be met with chiefly in Africa and in India. Many other reservations are also made with regard to women, such as their being forbidden to ride horseback (among the Dakotas), to eat certain foods or to drink certain beverages.

In Australia, the husband manhandles or slays his wife with the utmost indifference, and without anyone's so much as thinking of reproving or punishing him. Wood tells of an Australian servant employed by an Englishman who put to death one of his wives, and when severely chided for this by his master, who dismissed him for the offense, laughingly

replied: "*The white men must not kill the wife because they have only one, but I had two of them.*" The Australians, the short of it is, take no account whatever of their wives and do not confide to the latter any secrets; they became offended when one of our party would offer a woman food or drink. M. Gillivray tells of a case in which a genuine uprising occurred, for the reason that the English had given a woman the task of distributing biscuits among the men of a certain tribe.

The New Zealand woman has sufficient work to do; she tills the earth and carries the heavy burdens; but she is not mistreated by her husband, who frequently asks her advice. She also takes an active part in the political affairs of her own country.

At Tonga, the woman is held in esteem and is never compelled to do hard labor. This perhaps is one of the reasons why she is good looking, with tiny hands and feet and a dainty body. A Tonga woman does not lose her own nobility if she marries a commoner, and her children are noble like herself. Where the wife is of superior rank, the husband before eating touches her feet and those of his children. The plebeian wife, on the other hand, is not a noble by marrying a noble, but touches the feet of her mate and of her children before partaking of food.

At Tahiti, a man beats his wife with the same indifference that he would a dog or a pig. Women are forbidden to partake of those foods which are most pleasing to men, such as turtles, bananas and certain kinds of fish. They must also eat apart from the men.

In the Sandwich Islands, the women lead a joyous and comparatively easy life, which is possibly due rather to the fertility of the earth than to the kindness of their marriage companions.

The Dayak women share with their husbands the labor of life, but are not slaves, and exert their due share of influence in family affairs.

In many of the Polynesian Islands, it is the women who bear the heavier burdens, while the men accompany them

shielding them from the sun's rays with a parasol (Wyatt Gill).

In the Marianne Islands, the woman was legally in a position a good deal superior to that of the man. If the latter did not have sufficient worldly goods to maintain his wife, he must be her servant; but even where the fortunes of the two were equal, it was the woman who held the upper hand; her consent was necessary in the smallest circumstance. All of the wife's children were invariably legitimate, and all relationship was in the female line. If the husband died, the entire family fortune went to the widow. If, on the other hand, it was the wife who died, her children and relatives became the heirs, but never the husband. A widow without children received a gift from all the relatives, known as a *legacy*, which however she might refuse when she chose to remain in the husband's family; when she accepted it, she must return to her own people. The husband must answer for his wife's faults, and might even be punished for them.

In the Caroline Islands as well, woman was held in much esteem. In Micronesia, women were generally not mistreated; but at Tukopia, they did more work than the men. In some of the Polynesian Islands also, the women were well cared for. In the Hawaiian Islands, the women had their meals apart, being forbidden the daintiest of food, such as cocoanuts, pig's flesh and turtles.

Among the Malays, husbands are as a rule faithful. The women prepare the food, while the man transacts business and tills the soil. A very strange custom among the Malays of Pontianak is that of putting to death anyone who saves a woman who has fallen into the water, if she is not bound to him by blood ties.

Among the Orang-Benua, the woman rules in the bosom of the family, and her husband has not the right to beat her; if she has any cause for complaint against him, it is to her parents she must turn. The Batta women of Sumatra are not mistreated, but do nearly all the work of the family; very often the man does nothing but smoke and look after the children.

Strauch saw the natives of New Guinea (Gulf of Mac-

Clure) bringing to their women the objects which had been given them in exchange; but this was probably in order to get the women's opinion of them. The women kept themselves hidden in the house so far as possible, and the Papuans were very suspicious when they saw strangers approaching their womenfolk.

The Munda Kolhs of Chota Nagpore have a number of popular songs expressive of the relations between the sexes. The women say:

"Singbonga, from the beginning, has made us smaller than you; and so it is we obey you. If this were not so, and if from the beginning we had been given an equal amount of work to do, we should not be able to do it. To you God has given with both hands, to us with one hand; and for that reason we do not plow."

And the men say to the women:

"Seeing that God has given to us with both hands, so has He made us bigger than you. For is it we ourselves who have made ourselves big? He has divided us into big and small. If you then do not obey the word of man, you are surely disobedient to the word of God. He Himself has made us bigger than you."³

Although the inhabitants of the Dardistan are very fierce and cruel, delicate sentiments nevertheless prevail among them, and they have much regard for their women. When Chilas sent a tribute each year to Kashmir, which was rather that he might have a greater one in return than as a sign of submission, he was governed by a Council of the elders, to which women also were admitted. Throughout Dardistan, but more especially in Astor, drinking raw milk with a woman conferred a species of relationship, a sort of brotherhood; just as two men who had done the same thing, the man and woman would swear eternal loyalty.⁴

In Virginia, the chiefs had many wives, one of whom was permanent and immutable, the first in rank; the other wives

³ Sagen, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Munda-Kohl in Chota Nagpore vom Missionar*; Th. Jellinghaus, *Zeitschrift für Ethnol.*, 1871, Vol. V., p. 331.

⁴ See Note ZA, in *Notes and Additions*.

did not become such until they had lived with their lords for more than a year.

With the Muskogees, marriage ordinarily lasted a year; and where there were children, it was afterward renewed from year to year. Among the Execks, the marriage might be dissolved after a year; but the two parties could not re-marry until after the feast of the harvest, as if this were to purge them of their inconstancy. Among the Seminoles, there could be no separation until after a public hearing and a public decree, and almost always it was the husband alone who had the right to seek a divorce. Only among a few North American tribes could a separation be sought by the woman as well.

Mere incompatibility was a sufficient grounds for separation, being looked upon as a punishment by the spirits. When a separation had occurred, the woman still kept her house and children and looked about for a new husband. Where the children were numerous, however, separation was difficult and very rare. Sterility is looked upon in various tribes as pointing to infidelity and artificial abortions; by other tribes it is regarded as a misfortune but the woman is put aside for it. Abortion is a very frequent occurrence, on the part of married women as of girls. Not more than three or four children are brought up.

Very similar customs are found in nearly all the tribes of central Africa. The marriage contract is almost never for a lifetime. Among the Hurons, it was for but a few days. In other tribes, marriage is only solemnized after months or years of trial.⁵

We cannot leave this question of the position of the woman in marriage without studying a few of those singular institutions which tend to create an abyss between mother-in-law and son-in-law, daughter-in-law and father-in-law.

The father-in-law has a horror of the daughter-in-law, or conducts himself toward her with a respect that is terror-inspired, among the Arovacks, the Florida Indians, the Caribs, the Omahas, the Sioux, the Crees, the Australians, the

⁵ See Note AB, in *Notes and Additions*.

Fiji Islanders, the Dayaks, and the Banyas. The daughter-in-law flees the father-in-law among the Mongolians, the Kal-mucks, the Yacutans, the Bari, the Basuta, the Hindus, and the Chinese. Clavigero tells us that, among the Cocimies of California, the mother-in-law and her sisters may not look the son-in-law in the face nor speak to him from the day of the betrothal until death. They must avoid and flee each other always, and if they must speak to others when mother-in-law or son-in-law is present, it is their duty to employ another dialect, which is known as *changing the tongue*.

The horror of daughter-in-law for father-in-law, of son-in-law for mother-in-law is more pronounced among the Zulus than any other race; and it is frequently necessary to invent new words to express things the names for which are unfortunate enough to possess a syllable to be found in the name of father-in-law and mother-in-law. Consanguineous marriage is an enormous crime, severely punished by all, and even with death. Collateral relationship on the other hand is not adjudged incest, but one cannot wed two sisters at the same time. The opposite happened among the Kausar and Osoyr. When the elder daughter married, the sisters and the mother went to serve in the father-in-law's house, the sisters becoming secondary wives. Altogether the reverse of the Toda attitude.

The Kaffir once married may not look at his mother-in-law nor converse with her. When he has need of speaking to her, the best that he can do is to shout to her from a great distance, or if what there is to be said cannot be shouted from the housetops, he must at least put between them a wall or a hedge. If by chance mother-in-law and son-in-law should meet along a narrow path, they must do everything in their power to avoid each other, the woman running to hide herself in a hedge or behind a large plant and the young man covering his face with his shield as he passes. Father-in-law and son-in-law may never utter each other's names; and since among the Kaffirs the names of persons are very often words used to express personal qualities or

objects of a different nature, there is great cause for embarrassment. All this must be remedied by means of much circumlocution. A son-in-law who has a mother-in-law called *cow*, when he has to speak of this animal, says *that one that has the horns*; and a mother-in-law who has the misfortune to have a son-in-law called *house*, must always say *dwelling* or *habitation*.

It can be imagined what a memory a king must have, who has a hundred mothers-in-law!

No more may the Kaffir wife ever pronounce her husband's name or that of his brother. The father-in-law also may not enter a house where the wife of one of his sons is to be found. If he must go in, he must let his coming be known in such a manner that the wife may first retire. If he should have entered without knowing that his daughter-in-law was present, it is her duty to disappear at once. These restrictions tend to make life very inconvenient, but the Kaffirs have found a commercial means of getting around it. The father-in-law presents his daughter-in-law with a bull and this frees him from the necessity of flight. This custom is known as *uku-klonipa*.

This imposed abhorrence of father-in-law for daughter-in-law and vice versa is very widespread through the races of mankind. Among the Panuco Indians, the parents-in-law may not look at the young bridal couple for a year. (Uhde.)

The California aborigines might not look the mother-in-law in the face for a certain length of time. (Baegert.)

Among the Poulh Indians, the bridegroom from the time he puts on the marriage vestment may no longer look at the mother-in-law. (Mollien.)

Among the Dakotas, the Assineboin and the Omahas, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law neither look at nor speak to one another, but cover their heads upon meeting. Among the Omahas, persons so related occupy different parts of the house. Uncles and nephews must observe the same restriction.

The custom is likewise to be found among the Mandans, the Arovacks, and the Caribs. In many of the tribes of Brazil, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, when they speak to

each other, do not look each other in the face. Among the Dakotas and the Omahas, as well as other tribes, there is manifest also that horror of fathers-in-law for their daughters-in-law and of mothers-in-law for their sons-in-law which has been spoken of. When they speak to one another, they cover their heads that they may not be seen, they dwell in different parts of the house, and they do not pronounce one another's name. Exactly as in many parts of Africa.

In Australia, too, among the natives of Vottru, the mother-in-law must avoid a sight of the son-in-law. According to Dubois, in certain regions of India as well, the daughter-in-law may not speak to the mother-in-law; and Duhalde assures us that in China, the father-in-law must not have a glimpse of the daughter-in-law. The same custom is to be found among the Khirghisi among the Ossets, and in Georgia.

In Araucan marriages, even after the ceremony has been gone through with, the mother-in-law must pretend to be angry with the son-in-law for having carried off her daughter; and when the son-in-law pays a visit to the family of which he has newly become a member, the mother-in-law must feign a grudge and turn her back on him. But since this feigned anger must be reconciled with the duties of hospitality, she turns to the girl and says: "*My daughter, ask your husband if he is hungry.*" After much speechmaking back and forth, they finally sit down at the board, where they find that the mother-in-law, despite any grudge she may hold, has displayed all her culinary abilities. Sometimes, the bridegroom does not speak to his mother-in-law for years to come, except through a wall or with his back turned to her.

Külischer explains these customs by exogamy, which leaves as a vestige of the rape of the girl a mock-hatred between two families; but without ruling out this explanation, I believe that the custom may have a more natural cause, that of jealousy.

XIII

NUPTIAL RITES AND FEASTS

Forms of Marriage Consecration; Orgies; Feasts; Oaths; Ceremonies—Expressions of Joy—Guarantees of Fidelity—Sacred Marriages—Comparative Psychology of Matrimony—An Early Roman Ceremony—Tahitian Function Feast and Dances—Other Rituals—Safeguarding of Chastity—Pre-marital Intercourse—Obscene Symbolism—European Customs—Polynesian Street of Flat Bellies—Abyssinian Feasting—Solicitation of Gifts—Love and Religion—Mystic Rites—Dancing Orgies—Blood Mingling of Bride and Groom—Public Embrace as a Ritual—Chibchas Catechism—Persian Pomp—Lavishness of Hindu Ceremonies—Intertwining of Lust and Idealism—Comic Ceremonies—Curious Superstitions—Marriage by Proxy—Polish Form of “Bundling”—Frequent Re-marriages—Friday the 13th—Comic Differences in Age.

THE marriage rites are so many and so varied that if one were to undertake to describe them all, not a volume but an entire encyclopedia would be necessary. Now they are so simple as to be reduced to almost nothing at all; and now they are so complicated as to call for a special science when it comes to knowing and practicing them in accordance with the exact formula. I shall mention only a few of these rites in use in various portions of our planet, and from them we shall be able to form an idea of the others. Ceremonies, feasts, processions, songs, dances, sworn oaths and written contracts, blood and lust, orgies and symbols are interwoven in the most diverse manner by way of greeting or consecrating the union of a man and a woman; but all these varied elements, sundered by the scalpel of scientific analysis, may be reduced to the following three distinct groups:

- 1.) *Expressions of joy as a festal tribute to love;*
- 2.) *Guarantees of fidelity, that the union may not be too readily dissolved;*

3.) *Intervention of religion by way of conferring greater solemnity upon marriage, or imprinting upon it a sacred character, or increasing the authority and influence of the priest, who is accustomed to step in at every important act in human life.*

These three elements are frequently associated and point to three diverse needs, or if you like, three different moments in the evolution of thought. First of all, an automatic joyful impulse, one of joy answering joy, one of song or of the dance responding to rhythmic song, with inebriated parents and friends twining their enthusiasm with that of the man who for the first time is calling a woman his own. Then there is a need of the supernatural, transporting to-day's joy into an invisible and impalpable world which always lies beyond the mountains, the divine changing name with the human, of which it is no more than a superlative, and with the priest acting as the minister to these psychic needs and speculating in them to his own advantage. And then, finally, there is that civilized society which declares that the feast is not necessary, that the religious rite is useless, and which is content to inscribe upon a book the sworn pact of a male and a female who are about to found a family.

First, no rite at all; then a mirthful feast; then an idealizing rite; and lastly the notary and his seal. These are the fundamental forms of all marriage ceremonies; first poetry and then prose; first the most bizarre red tape, then the harsh, cruel spirit of science which strips flowers from their stalks, unravels fine stuffs, and leaves us only the skeleton framework. There is here a certain succession of forms, one that is many times repeated in other fields of human thought and feeling. The simple style of the Bible becomes the labored period of the Latin people or the jumbled one of the German, and after numberless evolutions bursts forth again in Victor Hugo's biblical line. The atheism of certain savage peoples passes through the Brahman Olympus of a thousand gods to fall back upon us with the atheism of the modern philosopher. Nude man little by little clothes himself with a multitude of materials, tricks himself out with a myriad gewgaws, and then rips off trinkets and coverings and falls

to thinking once more of the fig leaf of old, as of the highest form of human vestment.

This, if I am not mistaken, is the comparative psychology of all nuptial rites into which, as is altogether natural, every people and every age have poured the tribute of their own tastes, their own customs, their own religions, and their own civil institutions.

Külischer has endeavored to show that in prehistoric times, matrimony, or what stood for matrimony, was celebrated in the spring of the year or at harvest time, deducing this from surviving and prevailing modes of celebrating the love pact at this season. It is certain that even the men of the stone age, like ourselves, must have felt more keenly the prickings of love in spring and in summer; but like ourselves, they must have availed themselves of the human privilege of making love in any clime and at any season of the year.¹

The Yuma of California, who are polygamous, have no nuptial ceremony.²

One of the first and loftiest forms of matrimony is the ancient Roman one of *confarreatio*. The bridal pair in the marriage ceremony divided a loaf of bread, *panis farreus*, and ate it together as a sign of their union.

At Tahiti, matrimony was a very simple function. The bridegroom bore a gift to the bride's parents and to her, and the union was completed. But the gift was necessary, and the poor could not have wives. When the gift had been accepted, the youth might remain to sleep with the bride that same night, and on the following morning there was a nuptial banquet.

In the highest aristocracy, matrimony was celebrated with feasts and dances. There was also a special rite. The bridal pair took their places on a piece of cloth, and the bride's women relatives then pricked themselves with a shark's

¹ Külischer, "*Die geschlechtliche Zuchtwahl bei den Menschen in der Zeit*," *Zeit. für Eth.*, Berlin, 1876, Vol. VIII., p. 149.—On the influence of the seasons on love, see Mantegazza, *Igiene dell' amore*.

² See Note BB, in *Notes and Additions*.

tooth and collecting the blood upon a rag they laid it at the bride's feet. The bridal pair were covered with a cloth and the marriage was consecrated. The cloth which was used to cover them was looked upon as sacred and was preserved by the king or other dignitary.

The daughters of the prince of Tonga were jealously guarded before and after marriage to see that their chastity was not violated.

At Nukahiva, all marriage rites were lacking, and it may be said that marriage was not consecrated until after a long period of living together. At Hawaii the bridegroom in the presence of the others cast to the bride a bit of cloth and the marriage was completed and afterwards solemnized with a public feast.

The Yurakare of South America are another people who have no wedding feast. A marriage is arranged between parents, like any business whatsoever. There is a godfather and a godmother; those present drink chicha, and the godmother throws the bride to the ground, while the godfather throws the groom on top her. This act, however obscene it may sound, is merely symbolic.

In New Zealand, it may be said that marriage is concluded with no ceremony whatever, consisting merely in the girl's entering the bridegroom's house. Sometimes, however, there was a priestly benediction. The consent of the brother was important, especially where the girl's parents were dead.

At Tahiti, the priest put an amusing question to the rich bridal pair: "*Do you want to remain faithful to each other?*"

In the Carolines, a marriage might be concluded without any feast. In the Marianne Islands, on the other hand, it was celebrated by a solemn wedding banquet, at which the bridegroom was called upon to give a demonstration of his agility.

Of the Lapland nuptials we have already spoken.³

³ Cf Chapter VIII., preceding.

There are other wedding customs reminiscent of age-old traditions.

In France, the mother-in-law presents the bridegroom with an earthen jar filled with ashes and old weeds. The bride casts it to the earth, and the smaller the pieces into which the jar breaks, the happier and more fertile the marriage will prove.

In general, throughout Italy, it is looked upon as a good sign to break something on the wedding day.

In certain provinces of Germany, on the wedding eve, the young people break all the old pottery in the house, letting out whoops of joy as they do so. At Gallarate and Turbigo in Lombardy, the boldest of the neighbors slips into the room where the wedding feast is going on and throws into the middle of it an old soup plate, which breaks into pieces as the young people from the street send up a loud Hurrah in honor of the bride.

At Civita di Penna, as the bridal pair issue from the church, a man comes up with a large hamper bedecked with sweets and with little nuts strung over it, and in the middle of the hamper a big light. This is reminiscent of the torches which marked the nuptial pomps at Rome and in Greece and which were symbolic of the domestic hearth and the generative fire.

The *light-making* ⁴ is a reminiscence of the nuptial torch.

In East Prussia the bridal pair were presented with bread and salt and must touch these two things with their lips. The salt signifies *contentment*, the bread *riches*. The bread and salt are likewise hidden in the bride's trunk without her knowing it.⁵ In Ermland (Prussia), at the wedding luncheon the bridal pair are seated at a corner of the table, one on one side and one on the other, and eat from the same plate. Beside the bride sits the priest and beside the bride-

⁴ *far lume*.

⁵ Treichel, *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

groom the organist. The corner of the table where the couple are is known as the *Brautwinkel*, and above it is placed a wreath of pine branches trimmed with honey and nuts, symbolic of fertility and of the tree of life.⁶

Passing to the opposite pole, we come upon the Fuegians, who seem not to have any wedding feast. After the first night, the bridegroom, if he wishes to be honored and go on eating llama and seal meat, is required to cast himself into the cold sea water and take a bath. After a night of love, such a bath may cost him his life or occasion a grave illness; but it would seem to be a form of sexual choice somewhat like the ancient Spartan bath.

In certain of the Polynesian Islands, the bridegroom walks from his hut to that of the bride over a street that has been made for him by men lying flat on their bellies. If there are not enough relatives and friends to form this human pavement, they merely shift places. Arrived at the bride's home, three old prostrate women form a living seat for him. The bridegroom's own relatives then make a similar pathway for the bride. In the Andaman Islands, the negroid natives from the age of nine freely make love without need of any rites or wedding feasts; but occasionally a passing attraction becomes a serious affair, and then there is a marriage.

The wedding takes place at night. A fine large fire is kindled and at some distance from it there is spread a mat. The men, who are festively painted and armed with bows and arrows, stand about the fire as the women sing and dance. Then a few married men leave the group and go off to look for the bride, who remains hidden. She resists, but is taken and forcibly dragged to the mat, where she is laid down with her legs spread out. The same men then set out to look for the groom, who also makes a show of resistance, then permits himself to be taken and to be deposited upon the

⁶ Treichel, *Op. cit.*, p. 111.—On the innumerable forms of the marriage rite, see De Gubernatis, *Storia comparata degli usi nuziali in Italia e presso gli altri popoli indo-europei*, Milan, 1869.—Ioh. Heim. Fischer, *Beschreibung des Heiraths und Hochzeits*.—See also: *Gebräuche fast aller Nationen*, Wien, 1801, by Ida V. Duringsfeld and Otto Frhr. v. Reimberg-Duringsfeld, Leipzig, 1871.—William Tegg, *The Knot Tied, Marriage Ceremonies of All Nations*, 2nd Edition, London, 1878.

bride's belly, in such a manner that his left side touches her bosom. He embraces her, and for half an hour he must weep and sob, while the women dance about this singular spectacle. Upon this night and the succeeding one, the bridal pair remain separated; and it is not until the third night that the vows of nature are fulfilled.

Australians of the Western District of Victoria.—When a day has been set for the wedding, invitations are sent to the relatives and friends, and they begin collecting food of all sorts, such as emu or swan's eggs, opossum, kangaroo and various sorts of venison. At sundown, the friends and relatives of the groom, it may be to the number of two hundred, sit down opposite each other in a circle composed of bows and arrows and with a lighted fire in the center. The bride is led in by a maid of honor and takes her seat opposite the friends. She has her hair plaited with a bark ribbon painted red. Upon her forehead she wears a tuft of red feathers, Above and beneath her eyes, she has a brown line and below it two red ones. And about her loins she has the customary skirt of emu feathers and she wears an opossum cloak.

The bridegroom has the same lines painted above his eyes, and the same bark braid, but he is adorned in front with a white feather plucked from the wing of a swan. He is conducted by his friends to the bride, who receives him in silence and with fluttering eyelids. It is at this moment that the groom declares his intentions of accepting this girl as his wife. The banquet then begins, and when all have had a bellyfull, one of the chiefs exclaims: "Let us dance a little before the children go to bed."

When the dance is finished about midnight, the bridal pair are conducted to their new hut and for a number of days there are hunts, banquets and dancing, after which everyone goes back to his own dwelling.

The happy couple is looked after and well nourished by the relatives. The bride's maid of honor, who must be the bridegroom's near relative and preferably a girl, is obliged to sleep with the bride for two months at one side of the family hearth, and she must wait upon her day and night;

and for two moons, also, the bridegroom sleeps on his side, with the page of honor, who is one of his bachelor friends. In all the interval, the pair must not look at or speak to each other; and it is for this reason that the bride during this period is known as *türok-meetnya* (don't look about you), and she always keeps her head covered with the opossum skin when her husband is present. The latter for his part takes pains not to look at her, and when they have need of saying something to each other, they do so through friends.

When the two moons of not looking at each other are over, the maid or other relative of the bride takes her away for a week or two to visit her family. Upon her return, maid and page are dispensed from further attendance.

In many of the Dayak tribes, marriage is marked by no other rite than a feast. The bridegroom usually goes to live in his parents-in-law's house, to work for them. But when the bride belongs to a numerous family, it is precisely the opposite which happens, and she goes to live in the bridegroom's house.

The nuptial rite among the Sibuyan Dayak's of Lundu is a curious one. Two iron bars are set up in the place where the ceremony is to be, and the bridal pair are brought there from two opposite sides of the village. They sit down upon the bars, the latter signifying the strength of their union, and the priest gives to each of them a cigar and some *siri*. Then he takes a couple of hens and waves them over their heads, making all the while a long speech by way of calling down upon them the blessing of heaven. Then he beats the bridegroom's head three times against that of the bride, and then the groom places in the bride's mouth the *siri* and the cigar, which is equivalent to making her his, and their union is then sanctified.

At the end, the two hens are killed and their blood is poured into two separate cups and carefully observed by the priest to see what signs he can make out regarding the future of their marriage.

Among the Balaur Dayaks of Lingga, the bridegroom's

mother presents the bride's relatives with a kitchen utensil or two (a platter or a small basin) as a propitiatory offering, and three days later the ceremony is completed in a very simple fashion.

The bridegroom's mother takes a certain quantity of coconuts which have been got ready for the *siri*, divides them into three portions, and deposits them upon a species of altar facing the groom's house. The friends of the two parties then gather to haggle over the price or indemnity which the husband must pay, in case he should leave his wife while she is pregnant or already a mother by him.

In Abyssinian marriages there is a crying of the bans, and anyone may take part in the wedding feast. There is naturally a great scurrying of those who want to eat, and those who want to eat a second time; and the young men whose duty it is to maintain order drive away the fed to make room for the famished. When the banquet is over, the bride is borne on a man's shoulders and deposited like a bag upon a seat, from which she looks on at the singing and dancing. The bridegroom comes up preceded by the mother-in-law, and a priest or an elder perform the marriage ceremony with a speech. Among the other duties of the *arkee*, or friends who accompany the groom, is that of going from door to door to solicit gifts for the pair, always accompanying their request with songs and music. If nothing is given them, they proceed to take something, inasmuch as during their term of office they are official personages and so inviolable, among their other privileges being that of perjuring themselves, which is an abominable offense among Abyssinian Christians. The persons who have been robbed proffer some object by way of getting back the things stolen from them; but if it is a question of food, restitution is out of the question.

Among those peoples who possess a religion, love is almost always hallowed by religious rites; and even with us, down to no longer ago than yesterday, there was not a marriage that was not celebrated in church.

This is a source, at once, of the greatest good and the greatest ill. Where religion is the sincere and perfected expression of a race's idealism, through the consecration before the altar of life's major steps, the surrounding of any such step with mystic rites, which, it may be, are not understood but which, merely by reason of the mystery they encompass, tend to lure our fancy and to link the present with the most distant past,—where this is true, the ceremony cannot mean anything other than the wreathing with ideal flowers of an act which in itself would remain a purely animal one. For religion serves to put the seal of a divine sacrament upon birth, generation and death, which are the three fundamental acts in any existence.

But when religion is the faith of a few only, when it has been converted into superstitious practices, into a husk with the kernel gone, when it has become wormeaten by time and by that criticism which science brings to bear, when it is filthy with the corruptions of simony, when it has become brutally intolerant, it is then that love receives from religion no longer anything more than a ridiculous reflection or an imprint that is criminal.

A religion which imposes and superimposes itself upon the laws of nature, in contradiction to the latter, is disdainfully repelled by the more intelligent of men and, after a vain show of resistance, falls, struck down by its own weapons. Among us, for example, it would tell us that the Catholic cannot enter into a union with a Hebrew woman, with a Protestant, with a member of the Greek Orthodox Church; but inasmuch as men and women of these varying religions live together and are capable of loving and desiring one another, so love, stronger than any religious belief, has protested with crimes which in reality were but legitimate revolts against a hieratic violence. From that moment forth, the Mikado becomes the adversary of the Taikun, and the civil law is superimposed upon the religious one.

In many African countries, marriage is celebrated by a priest in order that the fear of the fetich may keep the wife faithful.

Among the negroes of the Sahara, the bridegroom presents the bride with a dowry destined to assure her existence in case of premature widowhood, or in case she should be compelled to seek a divorce on account of her husband's ill-treatment; in which case, she goes modestly with her troubles to the Cadi, just as the Arab women do.

When the marriage contract has been arranged, it is the custom for the bridegroom to send a *caa* (sixty litres) of grain to the bride's parents, a notable gift for that country. The duration of the wedding feast is from a day to a fortnight, depending upon the fortune and social standing of the parties.

On the last day, which absolutely must be a Tuesday, the bride is accompanied with music to the bridegroom's house, where the pair remain for seven days without going out, during which time they are fed at the expense of their friends. Each evening they are serenaded in front of their door. On the morning of the eighth day, the bridegroom with a hatchet goes into his own garden or into that of a friend, climbs up into a palm tree, cuts off the top of it, and bears the heart and marrow of the plant to his bride, tapping her over the head with it. The bride cooks it all and makes *couscous* of it, which she offers to friends and relatives.

Among the Fans of Africa, the marriage feasts are imposing occasions and last for many days. A great quantity of elephant's flesh is consumed, much palm wine is drunk, there is furious dancing, and it all ends usually in a general drunken debauch.

At Angola, the bride is anointed with a sacred pomade, and left for some time alone, while prayers are offered that the marriage may turn out to be a happy one and that many male children may be born. This is the best wish that could be made for them, seeing that the sterile woman is so greatly looked down upon, no opportunity being let slip to insult her. This universal deluge of contempt not infrequently drives her to suicide out of sheer desperation. After a number of days spent in prayer, the bride is borne into another hut, very luxuriously clad, and is exhibited to the public as

a married woman; following which, she repairs to her husband's home, where she nevertheless inhabits a hut separate from his.

At Karague (Africa, latitude three degrees south, longitude thirty-one degrees east), the most important form of nuptial rite consists in binding the bride in a black skin and carrying her in clamorous procession to the bridegroom's home. This is the rite observed in a number of Kaffir tribes, where the priest makes certain incisions in the skin of bride and bridegroom, mingling the blood of one with that of the other.

A singular and far from modest custom prevails among the Namaquas, that of obliging the bridal pair to indulge in their first caresses in the midst of the wedding feast upon a mat spread out in front of their hut where all can see them. The acceptance of a marriage offer with them is marked by killing a bull in front of the bride's hut.

Kotten has given us a description of elaborate Hottentot marriage rites; but he was misled by the early Dutch Colonists. Their wedding celebration is, as a matter of fact, a great feast diversified only by prolonged smoking parties.

With the Bushmen, when an agreement has been reached between the two parties, the suitor sets out upon a great hunt with his friends in order to provide the meat for the wedding feast, which is accompanied by songs and dances. In the midst of the general hubbub, the bride's family circulate about among the bridegroom's friends an earthen vase in which some gift must be deposited (beads, ornaments, weapons). This feast is the official wedding ceremony; but the happy couple remain for a long time in the father-in-law's house, and it is to the father-in-law that the bridegroom always brings in reverent tribute the fruit of the chase.

Among the Malagasy, marriage is concluded in the presence of a magistrate, who receives a fee for his services.

Upon the Canadian frontier, among the American aborigines, it was the custom for the bridal pair to receive a stick a little more than a yard long. One of the pair would then take it by one end and the other by the other, while

the elder of the tribe preached the sermon; after this, the stick was cut up into as many bits as there were persons present at the ceremony. These bits were religiously preserved.

Among the Naudowessis, the marriage rite consists in letting fly arrows at the heads of the bride and groom, who are placed one alongside the other for the purpose. Those who shoot the arrows are the nearest relatives of the couple.

A simpler ceremony is that of the Navajos, which consists in eating porridge from the same vessel.

The Central American Chibchas call in a priest for their wedding ceremony. The priest questions the bride as follows:

"Do you promise to love Bochica (the supreme Deity) more than your husband?"

"Yes."

"Do you promise to love your husband more than your children?"

"Yes."

"Do you promise to love your children more than yourself?"

"Yes."

"Would you dare to eat while your husband was still hungry?"

"No."

But the only question put to the husband is: *"Do you take this woman to be your wife?"*

In ancient Peru, the marriage rite was consummated by the bridegroom's placing a shoe on his fiancée's foot. The pair then fasted for two days and listened to solemn admonitions concerning their mutual duties. The woman must prepare the *chicha* with water taken from a certain place and offer it to her fiancé. The latter must serve in his parents-in-law's house as their son.

In the Ghilgit district (Dardistan), the bridegroom's father visits the father of the bride and presents him with a long knife, four yards of cloth, and a gourd of wine. If the gift is accepted, the marriage is concluded. The pact is inviolable so far as the woman is concerned, but may be dis-

solved at will on the man's part. There is a wedding feast, with games, dancing and drinking.

The Shin tribes pay the father-in-law in money, clothing or provisions. Marriage generally takes place as soon as the girl has attained the age of puberty. The young people have frequent opportunity to see each other in the fields and to speak of love. If there is a seduction, the guilty one is punished (according to what Leitner tells us), by this savage but virtuous people, with death.

The Dards are fond of speaking of *pure love*, and their love songs show that they are capable of it. No offer of marriage is ever refused, at least not so long as the woman is of a caste lower than that of her suitor. It seems that, at Astor, when a young man has been refused, he nevertheless succeeds in obtaining what he wants by threatening to go and live in the bride's family and become an adopted son. A Shin at Astor may live in concubinage with a woman of lower caste than himself; but if her relatives discover the affair, they avenge themselves by slaying the one who has debauched her; the man, notwithstanding, does not lose his caste.

When the suitor seeks a bride in a distant village, he equips himself with a bow and arrow, arriving at her tribe, he crosses the breast of his bride-to-be with an arrow and lets go his bow three times in the direction of his own home.

When the bridegroom bears his bride home, the latter's companions exhort her with a song which runs thus:

Come out, O daughter of the falcon.
 Come out, why do you wait?
 Come out of the tent of your father.
 Come out and do not keep us waiting.
 Do not weep, O beautiful nymph of the waterfall.
 Do not weep, your color will go all white.
 Do not weep, you are our delight and we are your brothers.
 Do not weep, your color will go all white.
 Oh, do not weep, you who are your father's best beloved.
 For if you weep, your face will go all white.

In Persia, wedding feasts were solemnized with the greatest pomp and ceremony. The bride and groom came to meet

each other accompanied by many attendants, and then in the bride's castle, they sat down together upon the throne. They were covered with gold, gems, saffron, and sugar, after which the rejoicing lasted for seven days and seven nights in the vicinity of the palace, without anyone's being able to snatch a wink of sleep.

But in no country of the world is so much time or money spent or is so free a rein given to the dissolute imagination in connection with the highly complicated nuptial rite as in India. On this score, I would refer the reader to my own last book, in which I have devoted an extensive passage to the subject.⁷ Whoever would compare the wedding customs of present day India with those of ancient India would do well to have recourse to the writings of Padre Vincenzo Marie da S. Caterina, in his *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*. Regarding the interpretation of certain of the wedding ceremonies, he says:

"These rites are not made up to fit the occasion, nor are they without their mystery, but for the most part are taken from very old customs of other nations, by way of signifying the conditions which should accompany the marriage bond. The bathing expresses purity and a desiderated cleanliness. The despoiling of flowers signifies a renunciation of virginal integrity. The pounding of the rice corresponds to the corn ceremony employed by the Romans as a sign of union which led to that form of marriage contract being known as *confarreatio*."⁸

If I were to continue with these vagabond jauntings among the marriage ceremonies of various peoples in various ages, I might add many pages to my book, but I should not thereby increase the material that would be useful to the comparative psychologist. Never so much as in this field do we find the high and the low in human nature so intertwined; never as in this case might we so well say that man is like that fossil animal which had the wings of a bird and the body of a serpent. Man often wallows in the mire, but

⁷ Mantegazza, *India*, Vol. II., 1884, 3rd Edition, p. 225.

⁸ See Note CB. in *Notes and Additions*.

he is also capable of taking flight into the highest realms of the ideal. At times a reptile, at times an eagle, he is often a reptile and eagle at one and the same time and in the same place.

When upon the altar of love man offers a sacrifice to the god who said "Be fruitful and multiply," and when with a companion he rekindles the torch of life, he invites to the feast and to the rite superstition and poetry, music and magic, lust and idealism; but none of these wreaths that he plaits is worth that garland of petals and perfumes which vegetable nature twines about the nest, as ovary and antler kiss for the purpose of fashioning a new life, one chaste and beautiful with the beauty of green and growing things. No marriage ceremony is worth a flower, and even those princes of human thought who are known as geniuses, and those with thrones who are known as kings, have not been able to find anything better than flowers to lay upon the heads of their beloved brides.

A complete history of the superstitions and comic elements accompanying marriage would make interesting reading.

At Lebamoor (Prussia), marriages were held on Friday, despite the fact that the population was Catholic. As a rule, however, Friday is an unlucky day, even though consecrated to Venus, possibly for the reason that on that day one must eat little or else be guilty of sin; and where Wednesday also is a meatless day, it too is looked upon as unlucky.

Fish without heads are served at the wedding breakfast in Prussia. In the same province, the bride's veil is snatched from her in the course of the wedding dances, and the girls present preserve the shreds of it. This perhaps is figurative of the breaking of the hymen. Treichel has made a collection of the superstitions in connection with marriage in East Prussia, and they make curious reading from the psychologist's point of view.

As many times as the cuckoo is heard singing in spring, so many years must one wait to be married. If lads or lasses cut themselves off an entire slice of butter (or of bread or cheese

in Pomerania), they must wait seven years. This superstition also exists at Berlin and in Saxony. A girl or a young man who cuts the bread crosswise and divides it into unequal bits may not set up housekeeping for a while yet; in Pomerania, they must wait seven years. In Saxony, anyone who slices the bread badly will have a bad mother-in-law. If a girl puts on her head a man's hat or beret, she must wait three more years yet to be betrothed. The reverse holds in the young man's case.

When the cook puts too much salt in the food, and especially into the soup, it is because she is in love. If she makes the food too tasteless, it is because she is a hypocrite. When a young girl eats out of the frying pan, she is going to marry a chimneysweep. They have put it into verse:

*Isst die Köchin aus der Fann
Bekommt sie 'nen schwarzen Mann.*

If a young girl bathes too frequently, she will have a drunkard for a husband. If after having poured the coffee, she leaves the lid off the coffee pot, she will have a filthy mouthed husband (*offenmäulig*). A girl when eating must avoid sitting at the corner of the table; otherwise she will have a hunchback husband. (At Berlin, it is believed that she will remain unmarried for seven years.) If a girl in sweeping gives a stroke with the broom to the feet of another girl, the latter will take away her sweetheart.

If a woman or a girl loses her garter or lets her dress slip down, her husband or her sweetheart is unfaithful. A girl must be kind to cats, if she wants sun and fair weather on her wedding day. Girls at Lebamoor must not eat the upper crust of bread, or they will have twins.

The bride must not make a present of shoes to the bridegroom, else he will go away, or become unfaithful, or prove as slippery as an eel. Similarly, the groom must not give shoes to the bride, or the marriage will go up in smoke. An engaged pair must not exchange photographs, or this will be the cause of their separation. One must not give the other anything that is sharp-edged or their love will be cut

off. If one of them loses the nuptial ring, one of the two will soon die.

If a high wind is blowing on a wedding day, it bodes ill for the bridal pair. (This superstition is also found in East Prussia.) If on their way to church, drops of rain should fall on the bride's wreath, it means that the marriage will be happy. At Berlin and at Lebamoor, on the contrary, it is believed that this presages tears and misfortune. Here is a couplet with reference to this superstition:

*So viel Tropfen Regen, so viel Glück und Segen
So viel Flocken Schnee, so viel Ach und Weh.*⁹

It is not well for two sisters to wed on the same day, for one of them will surely be unhappy or will die.

The bride upon entering the church, until such time as she has uttered the fateful Yes, must not gaze about her. (This custom exists in Saxony also.) The boss of the family will be the one who reaches the altar first, or who when the ring is given holds his hand higher than the other one, or who without being seen treads on the other's foot. The one whose taper flames the higher will survive the other. The one who sees the candle snuffed out will die at once.

At the wedding dinner, a number of vases must be broken in front of the couple's home. The more numerous the fragments, the greater their felicity will be. The bridesmaids must place a piece of money in the bride's shoes so that she will always be rich.

If the second wife has the same name as the first one, she will not live to be thirty. After the second marriage, if the husband does not like his wife, all he has to do is take the measurements of the first one according to the width of the coffin and put them up beside the bed where the new wife sleeps, and the latter will not be there to trouble him for more than a year.

The ancient Prussians had a habit of coming to the bridal bed to offer the pair roast kidneys of goat, bull or bear

⁹ "As many raindrops as there are, so many blessings; as many snowflakes, so much woe and grief."

(according to some, the testicles), so that the wife might be fertile and give birth to many children. It seems that, with the same object in view, they refrain from serving at the nuptial table, the flesh of castrated animals.¹⁰

Another element of the comic enters into the case of marriages by proxy.

Time was when the groom's representative had to put his right leg to a distance above the knee into the bed occupied by the bride, who was always a princess. Louis of Bavaria, who espoused the Princess Marie of Burgundy in the name of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, went through this ceremony.

In old-time Poland, the agent did something more than put a leg into the bride's bed; he slept fully armed at the bride's side.

Love, like all mighty storm-winds, shakes the giant oaks of the forest; but it also disports itself with the gentle flowers of the prairie; and so it is, it comes to stir man's latent tendency to the jocular. The comic note is not lacking in love, as we can see from the institution of the *charivari* accorded to the widowed who remarry. We find in the chronicles of all ages, faithfully set down, the names of those who were married a remarkable number of times.

St. Jerome tells us of one woman who was married twenty-two times, and her twenty-second husband had had twenty wives. Another celebrated case is that of Elisabetta Masi, who died at Florence in 1768, and who had had seven husbands, having survived them all. On her deathbed, she thought back over the defects and virtues of her seven companions and decided that Number 5 had been the best of the lot, and accordingly expressed a desire that she be buried beside him.

Another comic element enters with the marriage of persons of widely varying ages. Thus in England, in 1753, a lady of eighty was married to a lad of fourteen.

¹⁰ For other very strange wedding customs of the old Prussians, see Treichel, *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

The superstitions concerning lucky and unlucky days likewise add their share of comic relief. In a parish of Perthshire, for example, the day of the week on which the fourteenth of May falls is an unlucky day throughout the rest of the year, and no one would think of marrying on that day. With us, no one marries on Friday or the 13th. With the Liburnians, when the wedding breakfast is over, all get up from the table and the bride must then take a tart made of ordinary pastry and known as *kolach*, and must throw it onto the roof of the bridegroom's house. The pastry being very heavy and the roof low, she almost always succeeded. This meant the very best of good luck.

We see, then, that just as nature lavishes about the flower, that bridal bed of vegetable loves, at once the most beautiful and the weirdest forms, the most delicate and the most horrendous odors, the most wholesome essences and the most terrible of poisons, so does man, nature's favorite son, come bringing to the altar of his new loves the high and the low, the beautiful and the ugly, the sublime and the grotesque to be found within himself.

XIV

MONOGAMY, POLYGAMY AND POLYANDRY

The Ideal Form of Love—Is Monogamy Impossible?—Conflicting Erotic Aims—Pregnancy as a Seal of Fidelity—Motives for Unchastity: Revenge; Curiosity; Pride of Conquest—Digamy—Ethnological Descriptions of Love—Concubinage—Economic Motives for Monogamy—Polygamy as a Mark of Distinction—Capricious Change of Wives—Observations of Columbus in Haiti—Woman as Common Property—The Kaffir “Woman Hunt”—Erotic Hospitality—Polygamy Among the Kaffir—Deformed and Crippled Harem Guards—Jealousy: the Zulus; the Fiji Islanders—Guana Harems: System of Providing Young Wives—Moral Codes of American Indians—The Eskimos—Other Aboriginal Races—Polygamy as a Hygienic Measure—Group Marriage of Sisters to One Man—Poverty and Polyandry—Group Marriage of Brothers to One Woman—Incest and Polyandry—Infanticide of Girl Babies—Debauched Women of Guana—Polyandry Superior to Polygamy.

A MAN may possess one woman and live with her faithfully all his life. This is the ideal and perfect form of love; and inasmuch as practically the same number of men and women are born, it would seem in theory that this single love was at the same time the most natural form of the sentiment. The truth is, however, that monogamy is a thing too perfect and too ideal to be the rule for all mankind. The outcome of the matter is, that polygamy is fairly common and polyandry fairly rare. We are speaking here always of the official form, admitted by social legislation, whereas in reality, outside of marriage, almost all the men of the earth are polygamous and almost all the women polyandrous.

In Europe, for example, society rests upon the highly

moral basis of monogamy; but how many men are there who have possessed but a single woman, and how many women are there who have not desired or caressed some man who was not their legitimate and only spouse. In love, what we have is a number of diverse and even opposite forces contending with each other; and of these, the deed, the ultimate expression, is always a diagonal resulting from the play of conflicting energies.

Desire brings a man and a woman together, and puts its seal upon the first embrace, in the form of a common memory of a pleasure shared together. Whether this love be sprinkled with holy water or consecrated with a mayor's ink¹ or whether it represent merely a vow exchanged between two persons, there are many reasons why the pact should be a lasting one and remain inviolate.

The first caresses and the first kisses confer a desire for fresh caresses and kisses yet more savory; and while the pair united by a single love go on weaving together a monogamic poem, the coming of a third creature almost always has the effect of rendering the bond more solid, whether that bond has been blessed or merely consecrated by an oath. The first time that the woman, trembling and deeply stirred, comes blushing to the man and says, I am a mother, the marriage pact is in that instant sealed again with maternity's own deep mark. The woman must remain faithful to the man who has given her a child, and the man feels that he owes protection to a companion grown weaker still, and that he must provide for the being born out of his kisses and caresses.

Such are the essential bases of conjugal fidelity, such the law stronger than any written law, which always in the civilized society of higher races imposes the monogamous form upon the human family.

But on the other hand, man and woman after their first kiss may find that they are antipathetic to each other, may even hate each other heartily for any number of reasons. Then come the demands of the insatiable senses, frequent

¹ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—Allusion to the European custom of being married by the *maire*, *sindaco*, etc.

infirmities, those unavoidable circumstances having to do with the sexual life of the woman, the pride of possessing many lovers, revenge for a love that has been betrayed, and above all, love itself, curiosity with regard to the new, which is the first mainspring of every psychic movement in man—such the opposing forces which tend to give to love a polygamous or a polyandrous form.

In addition to *monogamy*, *polygamy* and *polyandry*, Bastian distinguishes also a *digamy* which is bound up with the institution of coquetry.² This fourth classification in the category of the social forms of love is, however, useless; for the reason that, if one were to undertake to express all the intermediate forms, between these three principal ones, it would be necessary to create too many new words. Classifications are always cuttings of the Gordian knot, never the faithful expression of the truth.

Morgan believed that the various races might be classified in accordance with the method employed by them in the definition and circumscription of kinship; and he divides them into those that possess a *descriptive definition* (Aryans, Semites, Uralians), and those that possess a *classificatory definition* (American aborigines, Turanians, Malays). The former denote the degrees of kinship by a descending scale, and the cousin is a final degree beyond which the family seems to disappear. The latter, by contrast, divide the kin into groups and tend to give cohesion to families, by bringing the most distant relatives back into contact with the nearest ones and joining the collaterals to the direct line of ascent and descent. Thus the Iroquois, apply the term of father also to the uncle, or mother's brother, and the uncle's son or cousin thus becomes a brother. In the same manner, the aunt is called mother, whether on the paternal or maternal side. But the father's brother remains a mere uncle. Among the Kingsmill Islanders, on the other hand, the paternal uncle also is called father.

² Bastian, *Ueber die Eheverhältnisse*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnol.*, 1874, Vol. VI., p. 387.

A huge volume would not suffice to describe all the forms of transition in the human kinship; and inasmuch as, in the ethnographical history of love, this is one of the best known subjects, I shall refer the reader to those ethnologists who have treated it.³

So true is it that even the three classic distinctions of marriage as monogamous, polygamous and polyandrous are artificial, that we shall soon see among certain peoples these various types of family existing contemporaneously in the same society; just as we often have monogamy complicated by concubinage.

Monogamy is one of the cornerstones of the religion of Christ and was in itself a mark of honor for the new faith, when the latter came to brandish the cross of sorrow in the face of a pagan society drunken with voluptuous pleasure and wearied with debauchery. The Gospel loudly proclaimed in many different regions the necessity of a monogamous family. It is true the more tolerant, Fathers, in the first Christian centuries, gave their sanction to a form of concubinage; but they did not give the same privilege to a wife. The seventeenth canon of the Council of Toledo, 400 A.D., states: "*Qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communitate non repellatur, tantum ut unius mulieris aut uxoris aut concubinae (ut ei placuerit) sit coniux contentus.*" ("He who has no wife but has a concubine for a wife is not to be expelled from the community, as long as he is content to be the consort of one woman, either wife or concubine, as he may see fit.")

The Church in a manner of speaking put monogamy above the institution of marriage, by extending its toleration to those illicit relations between an unmarried man and woman, provided they were united in the bonds of a mutual consent, such as the Roman law had long approved as legitimate. In accordance with the spirit of Christianity, adultery or fornication in the case of a man began with the use of two women, whatever might be the mutual relations involved; whereas the love of a greater or less number of men

³ Bastian, *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI., p. 380.

served to mark the various degrees of prostitution for the woman.⁴

Monogamy, therefore, is not a purely Christian institution. We find it among ancient peoples and modern savages, now inspired by a high morality and now by parsimonious motives of economy.

The Gauls as a rule had but one wife, although the chiefs and more eminent men of the tribe had a number; but as Tacitus observed, this was not due to a love of debauchery, but rather served as a mark of distinction: "*non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem.*" Their morality must have been a strict one indeed, if it be true that they believed "that a woman who has given herself to one man may not go to the arms of another." The Franks had one wife and many concubines, but this was with the object of having as many male offspring as possible. The morality of the German family was an elevated one: "*severa illic matrimonia.*"

The ancient Mexicans were monogamous by principle, and it was stated in their formal code of usage: "God has willed that every woman should have one man and that every man should have one woman." The rich and powerful might have more women, but one alone was the legitimate wife. The same custom prevailed among the Cicimecks, the Magabestri, and the Oborns.⁵

The aborigines of the coast of California were monogamous, but changed their wives upon the slightest whim. Upon the islands and shore of the Canal of Santa Barbara, only chiefs might have two wives. In other tribes polygamy prevailed, and a man often possessed at one and the same time a mother and a daughter.

In Nicaragua, monogamy was the universal rule, and even the chiefs had concubines, but only one legitimate wife. The Mosquito natives (Central America) are polygamous,

⁴ For more than three centuries in France, concubinage was admitted as a general custom; in addition to the legitimate wife, alone recognized by the church, there were one or more concubines in the bosom of the family. This was an authentic replica of ancient Greek concubinage.

⁵ See Note DB, in *Notes and Additions*.

and their women are not at all jealous. It appears that polygamy was not the prevalent form in Yucatan, but marriage was very easily dissolved.

Columbus found polygamy only among the chiefs and the richest of the tribe in Haiti, where the women lived together in perfect harmony. The early discoverers did encounter polygamy among the natives of Panama.

Mamel has found that, among the Gabili of Guiana, the family is monogamous and the standard of morality fairly high. Relatives seal the bridal pair's union without any forms simulated or real, of rape or of sale. At the marriage feast, they drink *cachiri*.

The Dayaks are monogamous, although divorce is exceedingly easy with them. In New Hannover, Strauch found that the family was monogamous and that the authority of the woman was respected. This at least appeared to be evidenced by the fact that the women's consent was always necessary in serious matters.

The Maori are generally monogamous, and only their chiefs have two or three wives. The Aeta of the Philippines are also monogamous and loyal to their marriage vows.

The greater part of the time, monogamy is imposed not so much out of morality as from poverty. Thus in the Island of Timor, the Rajahs possess an indefinite number of concubines, while the others are content with a single wife.⁶

The natives of the Territory of St. Martin in the United States of Columbia are monogamous, punish infidelity severely, and exalt conjugal loyalty as one of the highest of the virtues. Their marriage rite is one of the simplest that there is. The would-be bridegroom expresses his desire to the parents of the one whom he will have as his bride; the parties come together and the parents inquire of the suitor and of the girl if they wish to live together. If the answer is yes, the transaction is completed without the intervention of any priest.⁷

⁶ H. O. Fosches, "Tribes of the Island of Timor," in *Journ. of the Anthropol. Inst.*, etc., London, 1881, p. 416.

⁷ Nicolas Saenz, *Memoria sobre algunas tribus del Territorio de San Martin en los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 1876, p. 336.

Polygamy is assuredly not the most moral form of love, but is the most human. It was undoubtedly the primitive form of the prehistoric family, resembling in this respect that of the anthropomorphous animals.

Even after Christianity had condemned Roman polygamy and pagan debauchery to eternal damnation, certain Christian heretics endeavored to bring men back to the old and easy paths of love; and Carponetus and his son, Epiphanius, would have it that women were to be enjoyed in common, and that no woman had the right to refuse herself to anyone who sought her love as one of nature's privileges. Epiphanius was exalted as a god and at Samos, a city of Cephalonia, a statue was reared to him.

Polygamy with the Kaffirs,⁸ is not rooted in lust, since these natives outside the marriage bond have innumerable opportunities for finding satisfaction. They have many wives and many concubines, in order that they may have a greater number of servants, and as a means of showing off their wealth and power. When they wish girls, they send their friends on a *Upundlo*, that is woman hunt, and the prisoners brought in must yield their embraces to the hunters and to the master of the hunt. This they do without shame and without remorse. At other times, amorous whims are satisfied by a temporary exchange of wife or concubine. Ardent young men may also go of an evening to a village, to seek girls there with whom they may have a good time for the night. The traveler is never permitted to sleep alone.

The harems of the Kaffir kings are guarded by sentinels, chosen from among the most deformed and crippled individuals to be found. It is a less cruel but possibly less safe method than that of employing eunuchs.⁹ The Kaffir kings possess an unlimited number of wives, and Tanda had a thousand of them. The cruel Tehaka had an extraordinary number of them; but if one of them chanced to become

⁸ Kaffir is the every-day term applied by Mohammedans to all those who are not of their religion, and was brought into Europe by the Portuguese, at the time when, early in the sixteenth century, they visited the eastern coast of Africa. They picked it up from the Arab merchants. Fritsch, who studied the Kaffirs at close range, prefers the name *A-baunti*, which is the one that they themselves employ, and which means "race, men."

⁹ Wood, *Natural History of Man, Africa*, London, 1868, p. 60.

pregnant, he found some pretext or other for having her slain, not wishing to have any successor.

In order to avoid jealousy, each Kaffir woman has her own hut; but this does not prevent quarrels innumerable and bloody scenes as well; and Wood tells us of a young favorite who was strangled by two of her rivals, all three of them being legitimate wives.

A Kaffir king often does not know many of his wives by sight, keeping them separately shut up as he does in the various *kraal*, which he possesses. A very strict watch over the wives is called for. None may leave her house without being escorted by many guards and followed by many spies, who scatter abroad in order that they may keep an eye upon the poor prisoner's fidelity. It is dangerous indeed to address one of the king's wives, for the reason that a hidden spy may report to the king the *criminal conversation*; this would mean the death of the guilty one and of the over-gallant man who had addressed her, as well.

With the Kaffirs, the first wife always enjoys a preeminence, and this she keeps unless she falls into disgrace or is replaced by another. She is generally chosen by the husband not in accordance with the rule of seniority, but the reverse; hence the jealousy of the elder women directed at the younger one who has been elevated to the rank of favorite wife.

A Zulu woman is never jealous of her female companions. She is indeed very proud of belonging to a rich man and one who possesses many wives. With the African Kruma, the first wife has authority over all the others, and she urges her husband to take as many wives as he can, so that the work divided among them will be the less. A woman would rather be wife number twelve or wife number thirteen of a rich husband than the solitary beast of burden of a poor man.

The Ashanti kings may have only a fixed number of wives, but the number in question is one of four figures, that is 3,333. (?) Most of these, however, are no more than servant maids.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Note FB, in *Notes and Additions*.

The Fiji Islanders are polygamous, and there are many jealous quarrels among their wives. These quarrels the husband usually settles, by flaying the participants right and left. For this peaceful task he makes use of a special club; and one chief proudly displayed a club as big as a broom handle, carved and adorned all over with ivory.

The natives of Guiana are polygamous, monogamous or polyandrous as suits their fancy. For the most part, they are monogamous. To have many wives is a sign of great wealth and inspires reverence and respect; one of them had nine wives, a figure never attained by the others. He was of the Waurau tribe and extremely jealous of his private harem, so jealous indeed that he ended by slaying one of his wives and seriously wounding another. The second wife is often purchased while yet an infant, and the same is true of the third and the fourth, so that the husband may always have a supply of fresh young meat in the house. Occasionally, however, the first wife raises such a hullabaloo and offers so much resistance to her husband's polygamous whims that she finally succeeds in remaining the sole custodian of bed and fireside.

The North American aborigines are all polygamous; but polygamy is almost solely reserved for the most famous princes and warriors of the tribe, it being looked upon as a highly shameful thing to have many wives and not be able to support them. To this, a frequent exchange of wives is preferable. There is also a restricted form of polygamy, consisting in having the wife's sisters in addition to the wife.

Time was when marriage was only consummated after a year of chaste union. The good looks of the women are usually short-lived for the reason that the excessive labor which they must do and their nomadic existence tends to render them ugly and prematurely old. Immediately after childbirth, even, they and the newborn infant take a cold bath, and then the woman goes back to work or sets out on her wanderings again. To scream in childbirth is a shameful thing; it means that the baby will grow up to be a coward.

The widow almost always returns to the bosom of her family, but if the husband has fallen in war, the widow de-

mands that he be avenged, and whoever furnishes her with this vengeance becomes her husband and takes the dead man's name. In such an instance, to remarry at the earliest possible moment is the best proof of affection that one can give to the former husband. In order to support the family, the widow sometimes takes as her mate a prisoner of war.

At Samoa, the chiefs arrogate to themselves the right of taking as many wives as they choose and of ridding themselves of their consorts at pleasure. But even when a wife has been put aside, she remains the chief's wife; and should another chief conduct her to his house, the result might be a war. But while they may not remarry, they are quite free to prostitute themselves.

The American Chibea were polygamous; but only the first wife was looked upon as legitimate, and she was married by a priest.¹¹

The ancient Peruvians were polygamous, but the custom seems to have been prevalent only among the upper classes. There was, in any case, always one true and legitimate wife; and in this case, that of a real marriage, the consent of the tribal head was required.

The Yuma of California were also polygamous.

The Malays permit polygamy, but only the well-to-do may practice it. The various wives of the same man live in different villages.

Polygamy is rare among the Orang-Benua, although marriage is very easily dissolved; exchange of wives, on the other hand, is not so easy.

The Battas of Sumatra very rarely have more than two wives.¹²

All forms of matrimony are to be found among the Eskimos. One man may have a number of wives, or two men may have a wife in common; which does not mean that there is not such a thing as a monogamous family. The Eskimos of Prince Regent Bay do not take a second wife except when the first one is sterile. The exchange of wives is also common.

¹¹ See Note GB, in *Notes and Additions*.

¹² See Note HB, in *Notes and Additions*.

In the case of a number of wives, the first one always has more authority than the others.

The Aleutians were polygamous and offered their women to guests.

Waitz is responsible for the statement that among the Negroes properly so called, the Banyans are possibly the only ones who are habitually monogamous, the others only being monogamous when they are forced to it by poverty. The Banyars of southern Gambia generally have but a single wife, but they change her frequently.

Travelers are practically agreed in depicting for us the peace and harmony which reign in the heart of the polygamous family in many African countries. The women live together with unfeigned good will, and willingly give obedience to the first and the true wife. The latter is the richest and most beautiful, and often the first in seniority as well,—for example, in Bambuk, in Sierra Leone, at Fetu, in the Dahomey region, or among the M'Pongo tribes. It would appear that in the Congo the principal wives are two in number, one being what might be termed the primate, and the other the vice-primate.

The Malagasy are polygamous, and the wife's younger sister is often married along with her to the same man. There is occasionally a chieftain-wife, who is over all the others.

In the Carolines and in the Marianne Islands, a man might have as many wives as he was able to support; and the power of a chief was gauged by the number of his women. Two friends might draw up an agreement between them for each to enjoy the other's wife. In the Marianne Islands however, there was only one true wife, the others being simple concubines.

Polygamy prevailed at Tukopia, at Tokelan, in the Archipelago of Ellice. It was universal in Polynesia. The daughter of the wife's brother was the husband's concubine.

Polygamy was almost universal among the Maori. As a general rule, a husband had from three to six wives, usually sisters, the first wife being the one who had been first chosen

or who had first presented her spouse with an heir. From all accounts, the most perfect harmony did not prevail among the various wives.

In the Marquesi Islands, St. Christine had the honor of having a monogamous population.

Polygamy may be of hygienic origin. In many of the countries of Africa, husbands may not approach their wives during the period of pregnancy, and sometimes not even during the long nursing period;¹³ it is therefore natural for them to have a number of wives, if they are not to be obliged to observe a superhuman continence. Keate tells us that in the Pelew Islands as well, a pregnant woman may not be approached by any man.

Among many races, polygamy is permitted only to the few as a special privilege. Thus the Chamha permit their chief and their best huntsman to have two wives each. But in such cases as this, polygamy is inspired by the feeling of good will rather than by one of lust or pride. Read the following passage from Padre Salvado:¹⁴

"In one place, one of the savages with me having come upon the widow of a friend of his, took her for his wife although he already had four. Upon asking him the reason, I received this reply, that her deceased husband having been his good friend, his heart would not permit him to let her go unprotected. He further said to me: 'I really have only two wives, but since my brother is away, his two are staying in my care.' "

Polygamy is frequently the privilege of the princes of the tribe. Thus among the aborigines of the eastern district of Victoria, the chiefs may have as many wives as they want, but the others have only one. The chief's sons may have two.¹⁵

¹³ Galenus advised the nursing mother not to indulge in the sexual embrace; and the Zendavesta prohibited the embrace to women for six weeks after childbirth. The sacrifice of purification in the Mosaic law has the same motive behind it.

¹⁴ Salvado, *Memorie storiche dell' Australia, particolarmente delle Missioni Benedettine di Nuova Nereda*, etc., Rome, 1851, p. 215.

¹⁵ Dawson, *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

Among the Chuncha also, the chief and the best huntsman alone have the right to have two wives.

In the Antilles, the Caribs married at one and the same time all the girls of a family. Each wife had her own hut, and the husband spent a month with each in turn.

I shall say nothing of polygamy among the Mormons, since it is well known to all. While hiding under the veil of a religious belief, it is but a form of libertinism which will disappear from the civilized American scene.

Polyandry is a good deal less frequent than monogamy and polygamy, and is almost always the consequence of poverty and of a purely Malthusian need of limiting the population. Among the polyandrous peoples have been the Britons, the Goths, the Medes, and the Guanches of the Canary Islands. Among those who still are polyandrous are the Thibetans, a number of semi-Mongolian tribes of the Sikkim region, the Coorzg, the Coriacks, the Pandavi, and the Toda.¹⁶

The Bhots of the Ladak region and of Thibet are polyandrous; the wealthy however are not. Drew tells us that this custom is due to the under development of agriculture and to the isolation of the country, rendering emigration difficult. The rule is, when an elder brother marries, all the younger brothers become his wife's husband. The children apply the term of father to all the mother's husbands. A woman thus often has as many as four husbands at a time; in addition to these, she may select one or more outside the bonds of wedlock.

Polyandry is likewise to be met with among the Aleutians and the Eskimos. But these races live in a state of sexual promiscuity, even incest being common. In certain Eskimo tribes, a beautiful woman is looked upon as worth a good deal more than any man, and accordingly may be polyandrous by reason of this superiority and material worth.

We have already made the acquaintance of a human society in which polyandry and polygamy exist side by side. This happens in some of the Polynesian Islands, where it is

¹⁶ See Note IB, in *Notes and Additions*.

the custom of the upper classes for a husband to take as many wives as he chooses, each wife being permitted to do the same. Where the wife is of nobler birth and wealthier than the husband, she has the right to be polyandrous, while the husband cannot afford the luxury.

It is impossible for polyandry to prevail in a country as the constant norm of the human family, unless its position is reinforced through infanticide. The Mbaga and the Guanas often kill their girl babies, and where there are too many of the latter, the women are in the habit of saying that the husbands are too softhearted. The Guana women are, as a matter of fact, very much sought after, being debauched in their inclinations and hard to please.

I have made a study of polyandry among the Toda of southern India, and I have observed that the woman is a good deal happier there than in polygamous races.¹⁷ All that is rare is sought out and highly valued; and once habit has dulled the edge of jealousy, a number of men may drink from a single love chalice without repugnance and without rancor while the woman knowing that she is desired and being skilled in the art of rendering happy those who seek her out, proceeds to dispense her caresses and her affections in just and sapient measure.

Monogamy is the only moral form of human society; but where it is not possible, on account of the low moral level of a race, a polyandrous race is a hundred times preferable to a polygamous one, however much this may tend to humiliate our staunch masculine pride.

¹⁷ *Studi sull' antologia dell' India.*

XV

PROSTITUTION

Crime or Necessity?—Never Absent in Any Race—Ethnic Conception—Definitions of—Numerous Synonyms for—Prostitution Among the American Indians—Other Aboriginal Races—In China and Japan—Three Stages of Prostitution—Hieratic or Sacred Period—Episcurean or Esthetic Period—Period of Toleration—Venus Versus the Madonna—Asceticism Versus Lust—Lasciviousness of Men—A Strange and Shameful Babylonian Law—The Cull of Venus Mylitta—Amorous Rites at the Temple of Anaitis—Various Forms of Sacred Prostitution—Varieties of Grecian Venuses—State Prostitution for Revenue—Classes of Athenian Courtesans—A Realistic Grecian Beauty Contest—The Hetairai; Honored Ancient Prostitutes—Modern Regulation of Prostitution—St. Augustine's Opinion—Prostitution in the Venetian Republic; Some Rare and Revealing Documents—The "French Plague"—Amusing Contradictions in Official Attitudes—A Venetian Catalogue of Courtesans.

FOR us, who are a civilized and above all a hypocritic race, prostitution is one of love's major infamies, whether it consists in the sale of that which should be granted only to sentiment, or whether it means the purchase of love at so much an hour or at so much a minute, by day or by night, as the case may be. Contrastingly, for other races equally civilized but extremely remote from us in point of time, and for certain races which are our contemporaries but in a state of barbarism, prostitution was not and is not either a disgrace or a crime, but rather one of life's pleasant necessities, a social institution to be set beside matrimony, concubinage and other love pacts. I am not engaged in writing a work on morality; my book is a page from the natural history of mankind, and so it is not for me here either to put prostitution on trial or to indulge in any panegyric of it; my task is

simply to show how it makes its appearance under various ethnic forms, being never absent in any age or in any branch of the human race.

The empiric conception of prostitution is quite different from the ethnic and juridical one; and the word has a vastly different signification with each of us, depending upon the moral demands he makes. If anyone who sells the pleasure of her body is a prostitute, then those girls who marry rich old men for their money or a place in the world are surely to be inscribed as members of this sorry legion, as are wives who put a price upon their kisses in order to obtain a bit of money or a carriage, women who become the friends of great men in order that they may go down with them to posterity, and finally, men themselves who peddle their robust youth to lascivious old ladies.

Quite other are the classic definitions of prostitution. Here too we find much diversity.

Anaxilas, in his comedy, the *Monotropos*, has this to say: "*The woman who is restrained in her speech, but who accords her favors to those who come to her for the satisfaction of their bodily needs, is known as a hetaira, or good friend, by reason of that friendship which she thus bestows.*"

St. Jerome, fashioning his definition after Ulpianus, says: "*The courtesan is she who abandons herself to many men.*" (*Meretrix est illa, quae multorum libidini patet.*)

A certain medieval casuist, not at all parsimonious in such matters, would have it that no woman was to be looked upon as a prostitute until she had given herself to 23,000 men.¹ Others would reduce this figure to from 40 to 60.

Some have thought to find a definition of this sale of love in the etymology of those words which are employed to describe it. In popular speech, *meretricium* is known as *putagium* (*puteum* and *putaria*). Dufour² does not believe that we should follow Scaligero's example by going back to the old Latin *putus*, little one, an affectionate love term. He would have it that *putagium* is derived from *puteus*, a well,

¹ See Note JB, in *Notes and Additions*.

² TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—Paul Lacroix's pseudonym. See my translation of Lacroix's *History of Prostitution*, New York, Revised Edition, 2 vols., 1932.

either because prostitution is by way of being a well at which all may come to drink, or because the well was always formerly the place of rendezvous for amorous adventures.³

As for ourselves, we find that neither the broad definitions nor the narrow ones, neither that of Ulpianus nor the one that St. Jerome gives us, are sufficient to afford us a precise conception of what is meant by prostitution. If Ulpianus and St. Jerome were right, polyandrous women would be so many prostitutes.

If, on the other hand, one were to say: *Prostitution is the act of selling love to different persons of the same or opposite sex*, he would then have a definition that would just about take in all the forms, the common and the rare alike, of the harlot's trade.

If we are poor in scientific definitions of prostitution, we nonetheless have, in the dictionary of every cultivated tongue, enough words signifying prostitution to tire out the most active memory. The Abbé de l'Aulnaye has collected in his *Glossary* all these synonyms of *filles publiques*:

"Accrocheuses—alicaïres—ambubayes—bagasses—balances de boucher qui pèsent toutes sortes de viandes—barathres—bassara—bezoches—blanchisseuses de tuyaus de pipes—bonsoirs—bourbeteuses—braydonnes—caignardières—cailles—cambrouses—cantonnières—champisses—cloistrières—cocquattris—coignées—courieuses—courtisanes—demoiselles du marais—drouïnes—drues—ensoignantes—esquoceresses—femme de court talon—femmes folles de leur corps—folles d'amour—filles de joie—filles de jubilation—fillettes de pis—folles femmes—folieuses—galloises—jannetons—gast—gaultières—gaupes—gondines—godinettes—gouges—gouïnes—gourgandines—grues—harrebanes—hollières—hores—hourieuses—hourrières—lesbines—lescheresses—levriers d'amour—linottes coëffées—loudières—louves—lyces—mandrounos—manefles—maranes—maraudes—martingales—maximas—mochés—musquines—pannanesses pantonnières—femmes de péché—pelerines de Venus—pellices—personnières—po-

³ See Lacroix (Dufour), *Op. cit.*, Part III., Chapter VI.

soeres—postiqueuses—presentières—pretresses de Venus—rafaitieres—femmes de malrecepte—redresseuses—reveleuses—ribauldes—ricaldes—rigobetes—roussecaignes—sac-de-nuits—saffrettes—sourdités—scaldrines—tendrières de bouche et de reins—tireuses de vinaigre—toupies—touses—trottières—usagères—viagères—femmes de vie—villotières—voyageres—wauves, etc.”

To these words in use in France in the sixteenth century, Dufour (Lacroix) adds certain others, such as “*gaures—gorres (troie)—friquenelles—images—poupines—poupinettes—bringues—bagues—sucrées—paillasses—paillardes—brimballeuses—sérannes—chouettes—capres—chèvres—ancelles—guallefretières—peaultres—peaulx—gallière—consoeurs—bas-culs, etc.”*⁴

Of all the words employed in France to signify a prostitute, the one most in use is always *putain*, a highly respectable word down to the end of Louis XIV's reign and one that is to be found in Moliere's comedies. *Putain* is moreover to be found in books written by ladies; we come upon it in the four proverbs following:

Amour de putain, feu d'étoppes.

Putain fait comme corneille:

Plus se lave, plus noire est-elle.

Quand maistre coud et putain file,

Petite pratique est en ville.

Jamais putain n'aima preud'hom,

Ny grasse geline chapon.

(Whore's love is setting fire to pitch.

The whore is like a crow;

The more she bathes, the blacker she is.

⁴ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—It would be impossible to give a satisfactory idea of the shadings of signification of all these names within the space of an ordinary note, for the reason that, many times, the history of the word would have to be gone into (as in the case of a number from the low Latin). On this, see Lacroix, *Op. cit.*, Part III., Chapter XXIV., where the meaning of many of them will be found; see also *ibid.*, Part III., Chapter VI.

When the master sews and the whore spins,
There is good business in the town.

A whore likes a bashful man
As a fat hen does a capon cock.)

The term *catin* is quite modern, being but the diminutive of Catherina, a name very common among women of the people and one which has come to be synonymous with *doll-baby*.

A universal history of prostitution remains a desideratum; and although Dufour (Lacroix) devoted six good sized volumes to the subject, he has been able to deal only with the meretrix's trade as it existed in Greece and Rome, under the Later Empire, and in France down to the reign of Henri IV.

A common opinion is to the effect that prostitution is wholly lacking in more barbaric societies, and that it appears only as a corrupted form of civilization. Nothing could be more false than this. I find prostitution even among Kaffir boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty, or who are barely adolescent. They buy the love of girls with beads, brass wire and other similar gewgaws. They apply the term *Xo raloka*, that is "playing," to a lovemaking that has no consequences; or they say, *playing like roosters*. With them, a man is never looked upon as a libertine, except when he makes love to all the ladies, and especially the married ones.

In some races, the young women prostitute themselves in order to lay aside a dowry.

In old Mexico, there were public prostitutes, but they were looked down upon and went without recompense. Some of them followed the armies on the march, and they often sought death in battle out of desperation.

In Nicaragua, the women prostituted themselves to obtain money.

Ancient Peru likewise had its prostitutes, but they were an object of contempt and had to live outside the cities.

Prostitution is exceedingly rare among the Malays, and is only to be observed in those countries frequented by foreigners.

The offering of women to guests, of which certain North American travelers have spoken, is something like a form of prostitution, especially seeing that the offer was to be recompensed by a gift (among the Assineboins).

True prostitution sprang up among the aborigines of North America following the conquest, but it existed even before that. It appears that in the southern Carolinas, among the Waxsaw, there were public women from whom the chief of the tribe received a revenue; they were to be recognized by their shorn locks, and they also busied themselves with commercial affairs. Some travelers however deny all this.

Prostitution is very widespread among the American Chinnooks. It is common in Africa; and in the Dahomey region, it is a royal enterprise and a principal source of revenue. Prostitutes in these countries receive a special course of instruction to prepare them for their profession.

One of the most abject forms of prostitution is that to be found on the Gold Coast and in other neighboring regions, where the wife prostitutes herself in connivance with the husband, so that the latter may surprise the guilty man and compel the latter to buy himself off.⁵

Among the Yuma of California, although conjugal fidelity was the exception, it was highly valued when it did occur. But all the women prostituted themselves from their youth up. Prostitution was very common among the Colorado tribes.

If from the lowest in the scale we pass on to the half civilized people, we find prostitution sufficiently widespread

⁵ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—This is the modern "badger game."

It is a matter of common knowledge as to how widely love is an article of barter in China and in Japan. Among the more modern travelers, I shall cite only the good Père Armand David, who at Pey-ho in China, was highly scandalized at seeing a number of *hoa-niang* ("flowered ladies") coming up to the inn immediately after the travelers had arrived, the girls playing upon their guitars all night long and extending an invitation to love. It is said that in the city in question, of quite unsavory reputation it must be admitted, even married women practiced the trade of prostitution, sharing the proceeds with their husbands.⁶

With highly civilized races, prostitution does not disappear but grows more refined, in accordance with the universal law of the subdivision of labor. Thus, while in many of the native tribes of Africa and America, love and prostitution, marriage and the love-sale, go almost hand in hand, prostitution with us is separated from matrimony and from love, taking the form of a specialized individual profession. Looking backward down the reach of time and surveying the evolution of human thought, it would be sheer pessimism to deny moral progress, or at least the intention, the will toward it. We shall find this verified even in the history of prostitution, which began with the *hieratic* or *sacred* period, became *epicurean*, and ended by being *tolerated*.

Let us for a moment leave off with terms and chronological classifications and see if we cannot trace in rough outline the three forms of prostitution which have just been mentioned.

To begin with, man, an ignorant creature and therefore fearful of everything, gives himself over, bound hand and foot, to the priests, who do his thinking for him, who placate his gods for him, who wash away his sins for him, and who make commerce of his hope and faith. This is the mystic period, in which every act of life must have its seal of sanctity and must bear some relation to the world of spirits. Prostitution also thus becomes a force that is directed by

⁶ See Note KB, in *Notes and Additions*.

the priest, who takes it on as an adjunct to his own industry, and from which he is the first to profit.

Science, none the less, does progress little by little, conquering the domain occupied by superstition, and human thought is emancipated from the Church and from the priest. In that esthetic hymn which ancient Greece raised in the loveliest springtime of Aryan civilization, you will see even prostitution made beautiful, with the cult of beauty exerting its sway over all. It is this period which I call *epicurean*, but which might with equal reason be called *esthetic*. It is partly contemporaneous with hieratic prostitution, and in part has been emancipated from the latter to take on a character of its own.

Although epicurean prostitution may have attained its greatest splendor in ancient Greece, yet even later it shone with only something of a lesser light at Rome and in the Middle Ages, and to this day is not wholly dead in the great capitals of Europe and in the European colonies overseas.

But after Epicurus came the Christ, and Venus is routed by the Madonna.

The world, a-weary of lust, beats its breast and withdraws to be content with the serene joys of the family or the cold asceticisms of Christian virtue. It is then that prostitution, which, seeing that man is the most lascivious animal on this planet, is unable to disappear utterly from the face of the earth, finds itself first anathematized and then persecuted; after which, when the impotency of laws and penalties has transpired, it becomes *tolerated* and enters upon its third or present period.

However, by atavism, due to the intermittencies of human thought and virtue, we see the sacred and epicurean forms of prostitution reappearing as exceptions even in modern times.

And now, after the simplifying theory, which would sever as with the blows of an axe the tangled knot of details and, by a similar stroke, blaze the trail into the virgin wilds of fact,—after all this, let us have a little closer look at some of the sundered boughs.

"The Babylonians (*it is Herodotus speaking*) have a very shameful law; every woman born in the country is obliged once in her life to repair to the temple of Venus, there to prostitute herself with a stranger. Many of them, disdaining out of pride of riches to mingle indiscriminately with the others, have themselves borne to the temple in superb chariots. Some of them remain seated with a large number of domestics round about them, while others squat upon the ground near the temple of Venus with a garland of ropes about their heads. Some arrive as others leave. On all sides may be seen lanes separated by cords which have been stretched, and strangers go up and down these lanes selecting the most seductive women.

"Once a woman has taken up her position in this place, she may not return home until some stranger shall have cast a piece of money in her lap, and shall have possessed her. The stranger, as he casts the money, is supposed to say: *'I invoke the Goddess Mylitta;'* for Mylitta is the Assyrian name for Venus. However small may be the sum which the stranger offers, he is not to be refused, since the law does not consent to this, the money so given being sacred. At last, when the woman has paid her debt to the Goddess by abandoning herself to a stranger, she returns to her home, and thenceforth, whatever sum may be offered, it is not possible to seduce her. Those who are beautiful and comely in form do not remain long in the temple; but the ugly ones do not return so soon, since it is not so easy for them to fulfill the law. There are some who remain there as long as three or four years."

This sacred prostitution passed with the cult of Venus Mylitta or Venus Uranios into Cyprus and into Phoenicia. The garland of ropes which enveloped the woman was representative of that modesty through which an impetuous love must burst its way. Whoever wanted to possess her must take the end of the rope and draw the victim into the shadow of the cedars or the lentisks, where the sacrifice was consummated. This sacrifice was all the more acceptable to the goddess, when the one offering it, in his amorous transports, broke all those thongs which stood in the way of the satisfaction of his desire.⁷

⁷ See Lacroix, *Op. cit.*, Part I., Chapter I.

In Armenia, Venus was worshipped under the name of Anaitis; and about the temple of the Goddess there dwelt a populace devoted to her amorous rites. Foreign-comers alone were entitled to look for pleasure here; and when a girl stepped forth from the temple of Anaitis, having left behind upon the altar all that she had earned by the sweat of her body, she had no cause whatever for blushing; it meant that she would all the more easily find a husband, thanks to a successful sacrifice to the love deity.

At Cyprus as well, young girls of an evening would stroll along the seashore to prostitute themselves to foreigners who came to the island,—an island that numbered a score of temples sacred to Astarte. Justinus with his own eyes beheld this promenade about the end of the second century; but at that time, the earnings of prostitution were no longer laid upon the altar, but were put away in a strong box to go toward the future bride's dowry.

Egypt also had sacred prostitution; and the Persians learned it from the Lybians.

In Greece, prostitution began by being hieratic and afterward became epicurean or esthetic. Plato says: "There are two Venuses, a very old one, who has no mother and who is the daughter of Uranus, whence comes her name, Uranios; the other is younger, daughter of Jove and Dione, whom we call *Venus Pandemos*." (Venus of the people, Venus belonging to all.)

But Greece had numerous other Venuses, the Venus Hetaira, the Venus Peribasia (the straddling Venus!), the Venus Mucheia, the Venus Castnia, the Venus Scotia, or the Dark Venus; and the Venus Derceto, or the Corrupting Venus, the Venus Callipyge, and numberless others, representing a play of lustful fancy and of transcendent humor on the part of the most sensually esthetic people that the human race has even known.⁸

⁸ Lacroix, *Op. cit.*, Part I., Chapter IV. Venus Mucheia was the "goddess of lairs," or retreats; the Venus Castnia was the goddess of indecent copulations; Callipyge was *she of the beautiful buttocks*; etc.

Strabo relates that the temple of Venus at Corinth had more than a thousand courtesans devoted to the Goddess' service. It was the custom throughout Greece to consecrate to Venus a certain number of girls, when the Goddess' favor was wanted, or when it was desired to offer thanks for grace received. Xenophon of Corinth, before setting out for the Olympic Games, promised to sacrifice to Venus fifty *Hetairai*, if the Goddess would grant him the victory. He won and paid the debt.

"Oh Sovereign of Cyprus (*Pindar exclaims*), Xenophon has led into your vast grove half a hundred beautiful maidens! Oh lovely young damsels, who greet all strangers and show them hospitality, priestesses of the goddess Pytho in wealthiest Corinth, it is you who, by swinging incense before the image of Venus and invoking the mother of loves, so often procure for us her heavenly aid and those dulcet moments which we enjoy on the couch of pleasure, where beauty's tender fruit is plucked."

The wise Solon, casting an envious eye upon the sumptuous temple revenues which came from sacred prostitution, conceived the idea of procuring this income for the State, by founding a huge *Dictæon*, where many slave girls, bought with the public funds, lent their kisses and the sweat of their bodies to increasing the revenues of the Republic.

"Oh Solon (exclaims the poet Philemon, in his Delphics), Oh Solon! You have become the nation's benefactor; in founding this institution you have thought only of the welfare and the tranquillity of your people. It was something absolutely necessary in a city in which it was not possible for ebullient youth to obey the most imperious law of nature. You have, thus, in this manner forestalled the most serious of consequences and inevitable disorders, by putting into special houses those women whom you have purchased for the public use, and who are to give their favors to whomever is disposed to pay for them."

Neither hieratic nor legal prostitution, however, could satisfy the Greeks, who burned with every form of esthetic enthusiasm; and so, the sale of love with them took on an epicurean aspect.

The courtesans of Athens were divided into three principal classes; the *Dicteriades*, the *Auletrides*, and the *Hetairai*. The first of these were the pariahs, or the slaves of prostitution; the second were the auxiliaries, the last the queens of prostitution.

The *Dicteriads*, took their name from Pasiphaë, wife of Minos, King of Crete (*Dictae*), who was shut up in a bronze basin to receive the embraces of a bull. They lived in the *Dicteron*, or official house of prostitution, and it was their duty to satisfy the erotic needs of the lower classes.

The *Auletrides* were flute-players, who led a freer sort of life, and who went to play at private banquets, where their amorous songs and music, their lascivious dances served to entertain the guests. After having excited desires, it was only natural that they should satisfy them.

The *Hetairai* gave themselves to whom they saw fit: and with their fine education, their high culture and their genius, they wrote more than one page in the history of Greece.

From the history of ancient Greek prostitution, I take but one page, which will be sufficient to give a hint as to the erotic and esthetic capabilities of that adorable and classic race. Even in their most sensual orgies, they were always still the brothers of Phidias and of Apelles.

It is the flute-player Megara, writing to the hetaira Bacchis to give her the details of a recent banquet at which her friends, Thessala, Thryallis, Myrrhine, Philumene, Chrysis, and Euxippe, hetairai and flute-players, were all present:

"What a marvellous banquet! I hope my telling you of it makes your mouth water. What songs! What wit! They kept emptying the cups until dawn! There were wreaths and perfumes, the most exquisite of wines and the daintiest of food. A shady laurel grove was the banquet hail. Nothing was lacking but to have you with us.

"But in the midst of it all, a dispute arose, which made things all the merrier. It was a question of deciding whether Thryallis or Myrrhine was the richer in that sort of beauty which has led to Venus' being given the name of Callipyge. Myrrhine let

drop her girdle, her gown was transparent, she turned herself about, and it seemed to us that what we were looking at was lilies through crystal. She gave to her hips a precipitate motion, glancing down the while at those voluptuous masses of flesh which she was shaking. Then, as if paying homage to Venus herself, she began murmuring something or other in a low moaning voice, which still thrills me as I think of it. But Thryallis did not yield the victory. She came forward and, quite unashamed, cried out: 'I do not fight from behind a veil; I mean to appear here as in a gymnastic exercise, for this species of combat does not admit of any disguises!' So saying, she let fall her garments displaying as she did so her rival graces. 'Look,' she said to Myrrhine, 'look at that fall of my hips, at the fineness and the whiteness of that skin, and at those rose-pink leaves which the hand of pleasure itself as it were has scattered over those lovely lines of my body, firmly drawn but without any faintest exaggeration in their gentle slope, in their amiable contortions; and those spheres of mine do not tremble as those of Myrrhine do; their movement rather resembles the gentle murmuring of a wave.' Saying this, she redoubled her lascivious quiverings, displaying so much agility that a burst of applause came, decreeing to her the triumphal honors.

"From that, we went on to other contests, and there were many quarrels as to beauty; but none of us dared vie with the firm, smooth and polished belly of Philumene, ignorant of the labors of Lucina. The night passed with these sportings, and we ended it with lovers' invocations and with a prayer to Venus whom we adjured to procure for us every day new worshippers, since novelty is the charm and the goad of love. We were all very drunk when we separated."

The *Anthology* has recorded for us the cry of admiration which escaped from one fortunate mortal upon whom had fallen the task of judging between three Callipyges who were striving for the primacy in beauty.

"I have just given my opinion concerning three Callipyges. One had apples of gleaming white, and from them there arose little dimples such as are to be seen on the cheeks of some when they laugh. The second, spreading her legs apart, displayed upon a skin as white as snow hues more delicate than those of the rose. The third, with a quite unconcerned air, gave rise

upon her skin to the faintest and most delicate of undulations. If Paris, the judge of the three Goddesses, had had a sight of these Callipyges, he would not have looked a second time at what Juno, Minerva and Venus had to show him."

What realism! But by what a gulf is it separated from the tired and nauseous realism of a Zola!

The Greek hetairai, Dufour (Lacroix) tells us,⁹ enjoyed many advantages over married women. It is true that they must keep their distance at religious ceremonies, that they did not participate in sacrifices nor give birth to citizens; but how many proud and soothing recompenses did they have for their womanly pride! Their presence adorned the solemn games, the warlike exercises, and theatric performances; they alone went by in chariots, bedecked like queens, brilliant in silk and gold, with nude bosom and uncovered head; and they constituted the select public at sessions of the tribunals, at oratorical contests, and at the meetings of the Academy; they it was who showered their applause upon Phidias, Apelles, Praxiteles, and Zeuxis, after having provided these artists with inimitable models; they were the inspiration of Euripedes and Sophocles, of Menander, Aristophanes and Eupolis, by encouraging them to strive for the dramatic palm. Upon difficult occasions, their advice was followed, and their sayings were everywhere repeated; their critical jibes were feared, and their praise was eagerly sought. In spite of their costumes, in spite of the scandal attaching to their profession, they paid homage to noble actions and lofty undertakings, to elevated characters and sublime talents. Their blame, their approbation was a recompense or a punishment, which was sure to be very near to truth and justice. Their light-footed minds, cultured and polished, excited those about them to an emulation of the beautiful and a quest of the good, diffusing lessons in taste, and bestowing a final perfection upon letters, science and the arts, by kindling them at the flame of love. Herein lay their strength, herein their seductiveness. Beings admired and

⁹ Lacroix, *Op. cit.*, Part I., Chapter X., ff.

loved, they excited their worshippers to render themselves worthy of their regard. There can be no doubt that they were the cause of much depravity, of much prodigality, of more than one act of madness; they occasionally corrupted manners, lowered certain public standards of virtue, undermined characters and contributed to the depraving of souls; but at the same time, they afforded an impetus to high thinking, to honorable deeds of patriotism and of courage, to works of genius and the opulent inventions of poetry and of art.

The foregoing is a little too seductive a portrait it may be; but after all, it is a sufficiently life-like one of the Greek hetaira as we come upon her in the history of prostitution.

One of the most celebrated hetairai was Bacchis, the lover of the orator Hyperides. She loved him so passionately that, after she had made his acquaintance, she refused to have anything to do with any other man. Hers was a noble soul, incapable of evil. When Phryne was accused of impiety by Euthias, Bacchis besought Hyperides to defend her, and did all that she could to save her. She was reproved by her women companions and accused of undermining their profession by making too much of virtue. When she died in the prime of life, she was mourned by all. She had refused the most splendid gifts to remain faithful to Hyperides; and she died a pauper, having nothing but her lover's cloak to cover her in her wretched bed, where she still sought for a trace of those kisses he had once bestowed upon her.¹⁰

Whoever would become acquainted with the story of Phryne, of Laïs and the other celebrated Greek hetairai, should read Dufour (Lacroix), where he will find striking pictures of epicurean prostitution.¹¹

Prostitution as we know it today is the result of Christian virtue, which would have man a perfect being, and of that animal instinct which drags him into the woman's arms.

From St. Louis down to Butler, laws have been enacted

¹⁰ Lacroix, *Op. cit.*, Part I., Chapter XII.

¹¹ See Note LB, in *Notes and Additions*.

and imprecations launched against the sale of love; but neither laws nor imprecations have been able to blot from the face of the earth one of the most human of humanity's traits. In my *Physiology of Love*,¹² I have endeavored to show how they deceive themselves who feel that a great progress has been made when the houses in which love is sold have been closed. And today, after many years have gone by, and after I have made a thorough study of those European cities where prostitution is free and those in which it is regulated by law, I am still more than ever of the opinion of St. Augustine, when, with a profound knowledge of mankind he observed: "Do away with the prostitute in the human scheme and you will upset everything through an incursion of lust; put them in the matron's place, and you will bring injury and dishonor upon the latter."

Of all those who have written for or against prostitution, none it may be has uttered a loftier, a more practical or a truer truth than this.

It now only remains for me to give a rapid glance at tolerated prostitution, as I have at the sacred and epicurean varieties. I shall do this under the guidance of the learned Dr. Calza, who some sixteen years ago published a series of important documents on prostitution in the Venetian republic, which up to that time had not seen the light, and who without aiming to do so has furnished a facsimile of all the forms of tolerated prostitution, where are to be observed all those vacillations and contradictions arising from a false balance of different and opposing forces.¹³

The oldest document having to do with the prostitutes of Venice, which it was my fortune to come upon in the Archivio Generale dei Frari, goes back to 1266. It is a decree of the Maggior Consiglio, or Greater Council, ordering the Night Watch to expel from the houses of citizens every woman of evil life.

¹² 2nd Edition, 1875, p. 286.

¹³ Dr. Carlo Calza, *Documenti inediti sulla prostituzione*, taken from the Archives of the Republic of Venice, Milan, 1866.

Tenth day of October, 1266. In Greater Council.

"Inasmuch as it has come to our ears that certain ones in Venice are in the habit of harboring public prostitutes in their houses, it is hereby ordered that the said prostitutes be expelled from the said houses within eight days after cry shall have been made; and by the same decree, no one in Venice is to be permitted to keep any public prostitutes in his house, under any pretense whatsoever, and this under pain of a fine of X pounds for each house in which they may have been found, which fine of X pounds is to be collected from the master of the house in case of contravention of this order. And it is enjoined upon the night watch,¹⁴ to make an inspection to see if there are any contraventions of this order, and if they find any parties guilty of such a contravention they shall inflict upon them the penalty hereinabove prescribed, of which funds the night watch is to have part, and the sergeants part.¹⁵ And whatever prostitute from this day forth shall be found in contravention of this order is to be deprived of her goods, which shall become the property of the sergeants that find her; and it shall rest with their discretion as to whether the women in question are public prostitutes or not. And if it be denounced to them that any public prostitute is tarrying in the house of anyone whomsoever, it shall be their duty to question her and the keeper of the house under oath, and if the keeper of the house shall assert that he did not know the accused one to be a prostitute, and those of the watch shall believe her to be a public prostitute, it shall rest within their discretion as to whether she is to be expelled or not. And in the case they hold her to be a public woman, the keeper of the house is to be notified to put her out within eight days, under the

¹⁴ The *Signori di notte al criminal* and the *Signori di notte al civil* were two magistracies, of which the former was the older, its function being to see to the public safety at night time, to be on the watch for conflagrations, malefactors, assassins, killing and stabbing affrays, robbers and the like. The function of the latter body, created in 1544, was to keep an eye out at law-suits for trickery and fraud, to supervise the warrants for personal arrest, etc., and its members also substituted for those of the other body, on holidays, or when the Doge was absent and the *Signori al criminal* were not functioning.

¹⁵ Allusion is to the "*Pueri*," employed by the *Uffizio*.

penalty aforesaid, which penalty those of the night watch are called upon to enforce, under the conditions hereinabove set forth."

(*Miscellanea, Codici, N. 133.*)

With women of an evil way of life being driven out of the houses of citizens, and with prostitution in the servant class being prosecuted, it was natural that the women should withdraw to special houses, or houses of prostitution. But upon these also the law trained its severity:

*Last day of August, 1314.*¹⁶

"Seeing that there are certain ones, male or female, who keep a house of prostitution in their own homes, against whom the watch are unable to proceed, by way of expelling them, for the reason that they dwell in their own homes:

"Be it hereby decreed in Greater Council, that the officers of the watch have the same authority in expelling evil women or men from private houses that they do in proceeding against those who dwell in the houses of others, and that they further are empowered to impose and to collect a fine or fines, in which they shall have their share as in the case of other fines. And if it is deemed fitting, the summons shall be issued."

(*Capitulary of the Heads of the Sestieri*,¹⁷ or *City Wards.*)

As the need of a tolerated but suitably supervised prostitution came gradually to be sensed, the *Maggior Consiglio*, or Greater Council, decreed that a place should be found in Venice which would be adapted to confining the prostitutes:

June 3rd, 1358. In Greater Council.

"Whereas, by reason of the multitude of people constantly coming and going, it behooves our State to see to providing some place in Venice proper for the habitation of sinful women:

"It is hereby commanded to the Captains of the City Wards to examine diligently all places on the Rialto which might be suitable for such a purpose, and after due examination, to make

¹⁶ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—This document, like the preceding one and the three immediately following, is in Latin. However, it has not been deemed necessary to quote the Latin.

¹⁷ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—Corresponding to the French *arrondissements*.

report to us in writing, namely, concerning the most suitable place and the conditions under which the women in question may be kept there, with which report let them come before the Council of Forty¹⁸ and make their findings known. And should there be a contrary opinion, etc."

And later:

June 14, 1360.

"Whereas order was given to the Captains of the City Wards, in accordance with the decree of the Greater Council, to make search for a place suitable for sinful women, such as is altogether necessary in this domain; and whereas up to now no such provision has been made, but the said women are continually expelled by the said Captains of the City Wards:

"Be it resolved that the Captains of the City Wards and the Officers of the Night Watch be commanded not to molest the said sinful women on the Island of the Rialto, until a place shall be assigned to them in which to dwell; further, that the Captains of the City Wards be commanded from now up to the first of the month of August to give notice to the said women of the place in which they are to dwell, the said notice or order to carry with it a penalty of fifty pounds fine for each woman out of her personal goods. And notwithstanding, if up to the date hereinabove mentioned a place shall not have been set aside for them, the aforesaid women shall not be expelled, but shall be assigned a place in which they may dwell. It being understood that the said sinful women shall not venture to go abroad except upon the Sabbath day, but shall remain in their abodes; and it is further decreed that the aforesaid sinful women may not dwell in that lane which goes down to the public place, the said lane being at the top of that street or lane which is known as the Ruga dell' Olio,¹⁹ which is toward St. Mathew's."

(Compilation of Laws, Vol. XIII.)

Disorders however continued; and the interests of public morality imperiously demanded that obedience be enforced

¹⁸ The institution of the *Quarantina* dates back to the twelfth century. It had many powers, chief of which was that of passing judgment in civil and criminal cases.

¹⁹ At Venice, the name of *Rughe* was given, and still is given, to certain wide streets with shops on both sides. The *Ruga dell' Olio* was so called on account of the great warehouses for storing oil which were to be found along it.

to the laws already promulgated, not to speak of new enactments. This goes to explain the important document which follows, embodying the dispositions arrived at in the Council of Forty, acting in conjunction with the Captains of the City Wards:

*July 15, 1423. In the Council of Forty.*²⁰

"Firstly. That all those prostitutes who ply the trade of public prostitution shall be constrained to go and dwell in the Castelletto,²¹ and to occupy in the said place an individual house or a room as may suit their pleasure. And that permission be granted to those prostitutes who shall dwell within the Castelletto to go each day, from the time of the Carpenters' Bell,²² up to the first Evening Bell and take their stand under the arches of the Rialto, that is to say, under those arches which are beneath the arch leading to the San Cassiano way, and under those arches which are behind the hostelry of the Anzolo, and under those arches which are behind the hostelry of the Sarafin, which arches have always been used by prostitutes for this purpose. And as soon as the first bell of St. Mark's shall sound, all the said prostitutes who have stood by day under the said arches shall take themselves off, before the said bell shall have ceased sounding for the first time, and all shall return directly to the Castelletto, under pain of a fine of three *lire* and ten lashes, save in the event that one of them should go to sleep for the night with someone, the said pecuniary fine to be

²⁰ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—This passage is partly in old Italian, partly in Latin.

²¹ No historian indicates clearly the origin of the term, Castelletto. Galliccioli himself (*Delle memorie venete antiche, profane ed ecclesiastiche, Lib. III.*), who has left us so valuable a legacy of information on Venice, and who with great detail describes the parish of S. Cassiano where the Castelletto was situated, confines himself to stating that, in the fifteenth century, the prostitutes were shut up in the place known as the Castelletto. It is to be noted that at Genoa, a certain locality in that republic was set aside for the confining of public women, and that the locality in question was situated near the heights of the Castelletto, as appears from the regulation of 1459, reported by Granera in his valuable work, *Nozioni storiche sulla prostituzione in Genova*. It is impossible for me to say as to what analogy there was between one and the other Castelletto. In any event, it may be that the name came from the fact that prostitutes were there shut up as in a castle or fortress.

²² The *Campana della Marangona*, or "Carpenters' Bell," rang at sunrise on weekdays, thus having the effect of summoning the artisans and mechanics of the arsenal and all the city to their daily tasks. The name was due to the fact that, most houses formerly being built of wood, carpenters, known at Venice as *Marangoni*, were necessarily numerous.

divided in accordance with official custom; it being understood however that no one of the said prostitutes who may go to sleep for the night with someone may stand under the arches in another place along the Rialto after the hour of the first evening bell, hereinabove expressly mentioned, but shall return to the Castelletto and continue to dwell therein with all the others whose custom it is to stand by day under the arches, until the time of closing, under the penalty hereinabove set forth. And inasmuch as it is of greater convenience to all concerned, that the Castelletto should be closed at the sounding of the first bell of St. Mark's, or at most before the third bell of St. Mark's shall have ceased sounding, be it ordained that, by way of avoiding such quarrels and brawls as might arise therein, that as the first bell of St. Mark's begins sounding, four officers of the City Wards or members of the night watch to whom this task shall fall by lot,²³ or as may seem best to their Lord, shall go to the gate of the Castelletto to remain there until the ceasing of the third bell, until such time as an officer of the City Wards or a gentleman of the night watch to whom the task may have fallen shall come there for the closing of the said Castelletto. And be it enjoined on the officers of the City Wards, under pain of a fine of twenty-five *lire*, to see that this law is everywhere and in its entirety observed. And the said officers of the City Wards shall have authority to impose a fine or fines, pecuniary or one of lashes, and to put the said fines into execution in the case of the said prostitutes who, in violation of their order, shall go back to the public place of the Rialto, as has been hereinabove specified; and if the said officers of the City Wards shall be called upon by anyone to put this order into execution and shall be therein negligent, they shall be brought before the Communal Advocates²⁴ there under oath to give account of their conduct to show cause why they should not pay the fine of twenty-five *lire*, hereinabove provided for, for having failed to enforce completely the above provisions. And the said prostitutes shall drink no other wine than the wine of the taverns.

²³ "*per tessera*."

²⁴ The *Avogador di Comun*. These were of ancient origin. Advocates and judges of the treasury, it was a part of their duties to protect community rights, being in this respect somewhat like the Tribunes of the Plebs in the Roman Republic. They represented the public in civil and criminal cases; they decided before what courts suits should go; without them, the deliberations neither of the *Maggior Consiglio* nor of the Senate would have been valid, and finally, they kept the so-called Golden Book, in which patrician births and marriages were entered.

"Item. Seeing that there are many procurers who have taken young girls out from under the matrons, and who keep them in the Castelletto, and who devour all that they earn; and seeing that the said young girls must see what is their own and what they have earned taken from them, and have no recourse in the matter, for the reason that the said procurers demand of the said girls whom they have taken as much money as they have paid to get them from the matrons, and by reason of this, threaten them with prison; and seeing that, from fear of going to prison, the girls rather consent to live in subjection and to give them what they want, although this is wholly against their will, the which is a most evil thing; Resolved, that it would be well to provide for the doing away with such gluttonous ones,²⁵ in order that they may not continue to live on and appropriate the earnings of the said wretched girls, but that the said girls be left free to go on living in the Castelletto, if they so please, and without molestation. Be it further provided that if any procurer or other person take one of the said girls, it shall not be that he may take from her her earnings or anything whatsoever, for which purpose, that of money or some other, she may have been taken by the said procurer or other party. And in order that she may not be threatened, by reason of the procurer's capital²⁶ invested, with being put in prison, unless she shall secretly consent to give to the said procurer or to the one who has taken her the thing that he wants, be it accordingly ordained that, in no manner whatsoever, shall the aforesaid procurer or any other be able to put the said girl, whom they have taken, into prison; but the officers of the City Wards shall limit, in accordance with what to them the girl's earnings shall appear to be, the amount to be paid each month to the procurer or the one who has taken her, each month until the entire capital shall have been paid in full; and these provisions shall hold, without regard to such as may previously have been in force.

"Item. Whereas, in the year 1421, it was decreed that young girls might go to sleep in the hostelries and taverns, and in the same year it was further decreed that they might solicit in the taverns and hostelries up to the sum of X *lire*, the which is a very bad and iniquitous thing, for the reason that, as is known to all, the said girls in such places have become not merely idlers

²⁵ *giotoni* (modern Italian *ghiotti*).

²⁶ *Chavedal* (*cavedai*) usually referring to a public emergency fund.

but thieves as well, and that as a result of their keeping the mischievous company of prostitutes, they have conceived the desire to go and live in those other resorts, all of which is a highly unjust thing and against the commandment of our Lord God and the honor of Venice, Resolved, that it would be a highly useful thing to repeal in its entirety the section having to do with this matter, and to observe the provision which was before observed, namely, that the said girls might not sleep in the hostelries nor in the taverns, nor solicit in the said places as they have heretofore done.

"Item.²⁷ Whereas many corrupted youths, who might rather be termed pimps, not caring to live by the sweat of their own brows, are in the habit of daily following after prostitutes, living off the poverty and evil doing of the latter, taking from them their money and other goods, threatening them and frequently beating them, when the said prostitutes do not wish to give up their money; Resolved, that it is fitting that the said parties leave Venice; for the reason that this is a misdemeanor. Be it further ordained that, should there come to the ears of the officers of the City Wards any inconvenience in this matter, to wit, such as they may learn of through complaints on the part of the said prostitutes or of other witnesses, or in any other manner, the said youths alias procurers shall be subjected to a fine of XXV pounds and shall spend a month in a lower class prison and shall be banished for one year from the Island of the Rialto, and this as many times as they may offend, and if they reappear in the Island of the Rialto before the said period of banishment is up, they shall spend one month in a lower class prison and shall be subject to a fine of X pounds, and once more shall be banished for one year from the said Island of the Rialto, and this as many times as they may offend, which fine shall be divided as is customary.

"Item. Whereas the said prostitutes keep or cause to be kept, and for the said procurers, dwelling places outside of the Island of the Rialto, and every night go there to sleep with the said procurers, and many times remain by day in the said houses, all of which is a misdemeanor by reason of the good citizens desiring to live decently, be it hereby ordained that if any prostitute of the Castelletto or of any condition whatsoever shall keep or shall cause to be kept any dwelling place outside of the Island

²⁷ TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—This "Item" and the three following, as well as the following decree, are in Latin, after which the Italian is resumed.

of the Rialto, the one with whom she lives shall be subject to a fine of X pounds, which fine shall be divided as hereinabove specified, and he shall spend one year in prison, nor shall his term in prison begin until he shall have satisfied the pecuniary penalty, and afterward he shall be banished for two years from Venice, and if he shall come back before the end of that period, he shall once more remain in prison for one year, and shall pay to the informer the sum of X pounds, and shall again be banished, and the term of banishment shall begin as hereinabove specified, and so on indefinitely until the said term of banishment shall have been completed. As for the woman who shall have entered into such relations outside the Castelletto, she shall have fifty lashes, and shall be banished from the Island of the Rialto, and should she return, she shall have again fifty lashes, and shall pay X pounds to the accuser, and so on indefinitely, in the matter of which penalties she shall be accorded no leniency, grace, remission or recompensation, extension of time, nor any favor of any sort, nor shall any pecuniary settlement under the terms of this section be made, under pain of a fine of one hundred ducats to be taken from the goods of whatever officer of the City Wards shall be a party to any such compounding of sentence, which fine of one hundred ducats is to be had by our lord advocates, and they shall share in this as in other fees of their office.

"Item. That no prostitute subject to a matron shall be permitted singly or jointly, to arrange for the payment of any other sum than that of sixty-three ducats, in order to keep herself from being inscribed in the official records.

"Item. That no person shall be permitted in the said public place to keep any prostitutes whatsoever, except it be done through a matron officially registered and responsible for the payment of the prostitute's tax, being duly inscribed upon the records, and this under pain of fifty pounds, to be divided as hereinabove set forth."

As a matter of curiosity, and by way of bringing out the prejudices of the era, I give here the two following documents:

July 14, 1424. In the Court of Requests.

"... That if any Jew shall be found with any Christian woman, or it be proved that he has lain with any Christian

woman of the public place upon the Rialto, the said Hebrew shall be subject to a fine of 500 pounds, and shall spend VI months in a lower class prison. If however the woman is not of the said public place upon the Rialto, he shall spend a year in a lower class prison and shall pay a fine of 500 pounds, in connection with which penalties or any one of them the said Hebrew shall be granted no leniency, grace, remission, discount, or any other favor of any sort, with a fine of two hundred ducats for whomsoever shall be a party to the compounding or contravention of this provision. . . ."

(Capitulary of the Night Watch, Section 32.)

December 12, 1438.

". . . that from this time forth no prostitute of any condition whatsoever shall presume in any mode or form to permit her body to be touched upon the eve of the Nativity of Our Lord, on the day of the Nativity with its feasts, nor on the day of the glorious Resurrection and its feasts, nor throughout all the vigils and feasts of the glorious Virgin Mary, under penalty, for each one who may infringe this provision, of a fine of X pounds and XXV lashes, with eight days in prison. . . ."

(Capitulary of the Officers of the City Wards, Section 58.)

In regard to hygienic provisions, in the strict sense of the word, provoked by the spread of venereal diseases, and especially syphilis, following the incursion of Charles VIII into Italy in 1493-94, diseases which manifested themselves with particular violence in the armies, it was my fortune to come upon a curious document in the Archives of the Magistracy of Health. I think I may first give a note from the Diaries of the Venetian historian, Martin Sanudo, in which is to be found a very accurate description of the symptoms of syphilis:

July 1496.

"Note that among the evils with which heaven has afflicted us since the coming of the French into Italy, there has been discovered a new form of illness in human bodies, known as the French plague (*mal franzoso*), which disease has now spread through Greece, Spain, and almost all the world, as it has in Italy, and which is of such a nature as to debilitate the members,

the hands and the feet, causing little bud-like protuberances, certain pustular bodies and tumid vesicles to spread all over them, including the face, and which is accompanied by fever and by pain in the joints, and which covers all the face with pimples up to the eyes, like smallpox; and the women have their thighs all covered with it up to their private parts, and are in such pain that a patient so suffering must plead for death; and the said disease begins in the pubic parts and in the act of coitus, and is not otherwise contagious; and the malady is of long duration and is a most unclean one, although few die of it; and many say that it came from the French, although the latter say that they caught it with us and call it the Italian plague."

(Diaries of Martin Sanudo, Vol. I., p. 171.)

It would be difficult to find a document of this period affording us a more accurate description of the various symptomatic phases of syphilis. We see the various forms from the vesicular to the ulcerous, to the bud-like protuberances, to the mucous patches,—we see them all faithfully noted down by the observant historian; for which reason, I do not hesitate to assert that this is a valuable contribution to the history of syphilis.

I give you now that part of the Provisions of the Sanità, or Health Office, concerning the sale of oils, into which it was customary to plunge persons suffering from the French plague, this method being then looked upon as highly curative in its effects.

September 5, 1498.

"Inasmuch as it has come to the notice of this Office of Public Health, that in this our city certain harmful oils and of the worst quality, are being sold, in which persons suffering from the French plague have been immersed, the said oils being very filthy by reason of their having been in it, with their pimples and other filth, the which is a very dangerous thing and against the health of our City, let it hereby be known to all that if any person, of any condition or rank whatsoever, shall presume to sell or cause to be sold such oils in any place in this our City, he shall be subject to a fine of 500 lire, to be exacted immediately, without any remission or grace. And if it be a slave man

or a slave woman who shall have informed against such a person selling such oils, in case their information shall be found to be the truth, they shall go free and shall have the half of the hereinabove provided pecuniary fine. And if the informer be a bound man or bound woman, he or she shall have the whole of their wages as if they had completed their time of bondage, and shall have besides the half of the pecuniary penalty to be taken from the goods of the offender and if it be not possible to have it from that source, it shall be taken from the funds of Our Lady. The rest of the said 500 lire shall go to the benefit of our Lazarus Houses.

published by Pietro Ricardi, public crier."

(*Notatorio* I, Section 49.)

It is to be noted, however, that it was not merely at Venice that the popular superstition existed that a good way to cure the French plague was by immersing the patients in vats of oil. The same custom existed contemporaneously at Rome. Indeed, Burchard, who was the master of ceremonies to Pope Alexander VI of the house of Borgia, wrote the following in his diary, a copy of which is preserved in the Marciana Library. The date of the entry is the year 1497; the day is not indicated:

"This morning, six countrymen and oil vendors were mitred²⁸ and fustigated for having accepted money from certain ones suffering from the French plague, whom they had permitted to immerse themselves and bathe in their oil; for they believed that they would be able to escape and go free of that infirmity, if only it were permitted them to bathe in brimming vats of oil; and the vendors in question were in the habit of hawking the same oil as a good and clean product through the city."

(*Burchardi Diarii*, Hanover, 1697, Section 45.)

Low manners were rife at the end of the sixteenth century, a matter of grave concern, and the Magistrature was able to do little toward restraining them. The documents that follow, taken from the Archives of the Council of the Ten, and which will conclude this series of researches in old Venetian prostitution, will show how, at the period in ques-

²⁸ A sort of mitre was put on the culprit's head.

tion more than in others, the courtezans had come into the light and were no longer merely tolerated as they at first had been, but had gradually come to get the upper hand over the wisest of legal prescriptions:

Last Day of March, 1563. In the Council of the Ten.

"The violation of poor virgins has always and everywhere been looked upon as a grave and serious offense, and those guilty of it have been justly punished according to the provisions of our laws; but if in general this is an enormous offense, without doubt it is still more hideous when perpetrated upon those who are of immature age and who do not yet have the use of reason nor a knowledge of good and evil to guide them, in such a manner that it may not be said that they consent to the sin. Whereas at the present time the said vice of violating young girls is reported to have multiplied greatly in this city, the girls being of tender years, and being frequently made prostitutes or practically sold by their own mothers or near relatives out of a desire for gain; Resolved, that it is necessary, out of regard for a regular and seemly mode of life, and for the honor and benefit of the said poor creatures, who without any fault of their own have been rendered vicious and infamous, and even more so, out of that respect and reverence which is due to Divine Majesty, to make happier provision in this matter than has heretofore been made in times past.

"Without prejudice to our laws and provisions which have already been drawn up in this regard, Be it resolved that, in the case of the said crime of the violation of virginity, perpetrated with girls of immature age as has been hereinabove set forth, the said crimes being hereby included under the abominable sin against nature, the ones guilty of the said crime shall be punished by the authority of this Council, and shall be turned over to the magistrates charged with the carrying out of our orders, which magistrates shall proceed against the delinquents and punish them as follows, to wit: Those mothers who, out of a desire for gain or from any other reason whatsoever, shall consent to their daughters of immature age as hereinabove specified being placed in the hands of those who shall deprive them of their virginity, shall be placed upon an eminence between the two columns of St. Mark's, with a chaplet upon their heads and a reliquary on their bosoms, and they shall there and then confess their guilt, and shall thereafter be banished for

two years from this city and district. Those fathers, relatives or any others whosoever, who shall commit the aforesaid crime of prostituting the aforesaid girls for gain or for any other reason whatsoever, or who shall consent to their violation, shall be similarly put up with chaplet and relinquary as above specified, and thereafter shall be given over to serve in irons at the oars in our galleys, and shall be so condemned for two years, and in case they are not adapted to such service, they shall be cast into prison, where they shall be kept under lock and key for the period of two years, and thereafter they shall be banished from this City and its purlieus for a period of time equivalent to two consecutive years. When those delinquents and violators of virginity hereinabove referred to shall be of noble birth, they shall be deprived of benefit of this our Greater Council, and shall be shorn of such Offices as they may possess, this for the period of two years' time, and they shall further be called upon to pay the sum of four hundred lire, and their sentence shall be published in the said Greater Council; if the said violators shall be citizens of ours, or of whatsoever condition they may be, and of whatever place or country they may be, they shall pay the sum of four hundred lire, and they shall further be banished from this our City of Venice and its purlieus for the period of four years, which sentence is not to begin until they shall first have satisfied the aforesaid fine. And if any person who has been so banished in accordance with this present act shall be guilty of an infringement of sentence, he shall be taken into custody, and shall be lodged in prison under lock and key for the period of one year, and shall thereafter be restored to his banishment, the which banishment shall then begin again, and this as often as he may be guilty of the offense, together with a fine of four hundred lire to be paid out of the delinquent's goods, and if this money is not forthcoming, it shall be provided from the tax funds of this Council, for the benefit of the person or persons who shall have taken the said banished ones into custody and shall have brought them before the bar of justice; and those persons charged with the execution of these provisions, in addition to such money as is derived from fines, shall assign to the violated maiden for her dowry such an amount of money as to them shall appear suitable, in view of the quality and condition of the violator and of the said girl. And when it shall appear to those persons charged with the carrying out of these provisions that the crime in question is deserving of a greater punishment, they shall come before this Council, in order that

the violators may be sentenced in accordance with their just desserts. The aforesaid fines of four hundred lire, as hereinabove set forth, shall be divided in such a manner that the informer, in case there be one, and his name shall be kept secret, shall have half, and the violated girl shall have half; and in case there is no informer, all these fines shall be applied to the benefit of the said girl, for her marriage or other needs. And the present act shall be published upon the stairs of St. Mark's and upon the Rialto for the intelligence of each and every one."

(*Communal Registers, N. 26, Section 10.*)

March 28, 1572. In the Council of the Ten.

"The greatest thanks which can be rendered to the Lord our God for the continual benefits received from His all-powerful hand, and the most efficacious prayers that can be offered up unto His Divine Majesty, in order that we may continue to have His protection in all the perils and hardships of this World, consist in this; that we see to it in every way that as little offense as possible is offered to His Divine Majesty, and especially in the matter of carnal vices, the which vices *infect souls, render bodies ill, and consume the faculties*. This being duly considered by the most prudent members of our Greater Council, they have in times past drawn up divers ordinances in the matter of the prostitutes, and especially, under date of September 12, 1539; the which ordinances, had they been observed, the number of the said prostitutes would not so have increased as it has at the present time, to such an extent that one cannot go into any part of this City without finding there many such women who with their brawling and lascivious enticements constitute a danger for the youth of this city, to the public detriment and disgrace; and therefore, it is fitting that some provision be therein made.

"Let it then be cried abroad that all those prostitutes who shall have come into this City within the period of five years past must leave the City within the period of fifteen days to come, and should they return, they shall be lodged under lock and key in prison, and shall pay twenty-five ducats to that one, man or woman, who shall inform upon them, and whose name shall be kept secret; and if they shall be there found a second time, the penalty shall be doubled, both in the matter of prison and of the fine; and should they offend the third time, they shall then be looked upon as incorrigible and shall have their noses cut off. And the same penalty shall apply to any such who in the future may come to dwell in this City. As for those other

prostitutes, who are not of the condition hereinabove specified, they shall not dwell near the church, nor shall they go into churches at a time when many persons are there, nor shall they mingle with the noble women of our City or other women of respectable life, nor shall they go to pardons or to churches where solemn services are being held, except between the hour of nones and the peals, under the same penalties hereinabove set forth. And this present act shall be published upon the stairs of St. Mark and upon the Rialto, and the execution of it shall be entrusted to our Health Officers, with an order that they see to it that this act is cried each first Sunday of the month in each district and in each Church, at a time when the greatest number of persons is there, and whether it be so published or not, its provisions herein contained shall be duly carried out; and the Health Officers of our City are hereby further obliged to see to it that all the other ordinances of their predecessors, of the said date of September, 1539, are duly observed and carried out, and that nothing is done in contravention of the aforesaid ordinances."

(*Communal Registers, N. 30, Section 102.*)

The history of tolerated prostitution in Europe forms one of the most curious and comical pages in the annals of human morality. On the one hand, an Arcadian longing for all that is good and holy, which would have man to be pure and chaste; and on the other hand, an ardent and irresistible impulse to purchase and to sell that which is life's dearest joy; an *I will not* over against a constant *I cannot*, on the part of the written laws and on the part of human beings delegated to see that those laws are respected; an amusing game on the part of Cupid, who, a nude and unarmed infant, with his little pink fingers proceeds to make faces at the moralists, the legislator and the police officer, saying to them all: *Little and naked as I am, I am still quite capable of out-witting you one and all.*²⁹

²⁹ It is curious that Venice, the paradise of European prostitution in past centuries, should repeatedly have passed enactments so severe for the restraint or snuffing out of prostitution. While such edicts as those reported by Calza were being issued, for example, there was published an octavo with this title: "*Herein is the catalogue of all the principal and most honored courtizans of Venice, with their names and the places where they dwell and the kind of pleasure each has to offer, and even the amount which must be paid by those gentlemen and others who desire their favors.*"

This work, published in the sixteenth century, is dedicated by the author, A.C., "to the most magnificent and courteous lady, Livia Azalina."

XVI

THE FUTURE POSSIBILITIES OF LOVE

Comparative Ethnography of Love—Brantôme's False Notion—Man, Most Complex Animal, Most Diversified Lover—Violence and Jealousy—Variations in Love-Making, Racial Characteristics—Some Absurd Dogmas—Erotic Puissance of Negroes—Captain Stedman's Experience—Some Instances of Unfailing Loyalty—Man Naturally Polygamous, Women Polyandrous—Variety, Curiosity and Pride—Aggression and Defense—Pre-marital Motherhood—Love in Europe; Some Common Continental Characteristics—Platonic Love—Animal Love—Atavistic Lag of Barbarism—Elements of Brute Forms in Civilized Love-Making—A Lofty Morality—Economic Problems and Their Consequences: Masturbation; Prostitution; Adultery—Secret Promiscuity—Signs of Progress in Love-Life—A Prophecy for the Future.

UPON taking leave of the reader, who has had the courtesy to accompany me thus far, in addition to that feeling of melancholy which marks any ultimate leavetaking, I am filled with a deep sense of not having been wholly equal to the task which I have undertaken in this book. Amid the labyrinths of love, amid the inextricable tangle of so many threads, amid the embroidery of a myriad details, I am by no means sure that I have been able always to follow the thread of a scientific order; I am not sure that I have been able always to show you the substance behind the form. or that, in a study of the *manifold*, I may not sometimes have lost sight of the *one*. If there be any merit in having been the first to outline a psychological ethnography of love, let this be my excuse; should my book prove to be no more than a rough sketch, let some surer and more learned hand than mine transform it into a picture.

Before taking final leave, permit me to reef sails and accompany you into the harbor.

For certain writers of a cynical turn of mind, a study of the comparative ethnography of love is a futile undertaking, seeing that, as they view it, men and women in all times and in all places have made love in the same manner. *Putains partout et cocus partout, la chasteté n'habite pas en une région plus qu'en l'autre.* ("Whores everywhere and cuckolds everywhere, chastity dwells in one region no more than in another.") So writes Brantôme; but a hundred others have thought and written the same thing, expressing themselves in almost the same words. Persons such as this, proud in their ignorance, are the same ones who applaud the Provençal proverb: *ombre d'hom vau cen fremos*, the shadow of a man is worth a hundred women.

All this is villainous, and what is worse, it is false. The ethnography of love is altogether a science, a science of the future, one of which I have in this book traced but a few of the outlines.

Man loves as an animal and as a man. He loves for the reason that he is provided with a sexual apparatus; and he loves differently from all the other animals for the reason that he is a different being from them, the most complex and highest form of animal life. We may expect to find, accordingly, in his loves, characteristics which are common to all living beings (the loves of plants being, for that matter, a good deal more like those of animals than might be thought); and in addition to these characteristics, he has others that are specifically human.

The bones are assuredly not the whole organism; they are merely the crude framework; but in studying the skeleton, we come to understand the muscles which are attached to it, the nerves that pass through it, the viscera which palpitate within it. And so, it seems to me that in the field of psychology, we ought always to look for the skeleton of the great biological brotherhood, upon which depend the muscles, nerves and viscera of our higher nature.

Man shares with the animal the violence, the jealousies and the struggles of love; but he loves more and he loves better than the animals do. And all that may modify human nature similarly modifies our mode of feeling and expressing love, Race, therefore, which represents a sum of the modifications brought to bear on man, is in its turn one of the greatest modifiers of love. We love differently one from another, not merely because we are men or women, young or old, of one temperament or another; but because we are Italians or Chinese, Frenchmen or Australians.

When a traveler, a philosopher or an ethnographer undertakes to describe for us the character of a people, he must necessarily tell us something of love, for the reason that the various modes of loving constitute one of the most salient traits in the moral physiognomy of any people. In ethnical love differences, there is a difference of quantity and of quality, the latter being a good deal more varied and important than the former.

Amid the vulgar dogmas which go to make up the popular psychologic catechism, there is this one: in the North people love less, in the South more; Southerners are ardent, Northerners are cold. In this dogma there is certainly a nucleus of truth but it is a truth so rough-hewn as to be comparable to an anthropomorphic idol of the Ostiacks. Nothing could be more grossly inexact than such assertions as these. I should like to know if Byron or Burns, merely because they happened to be born amid the fogs of Britain, loved any less ardently than a mountaineer of Greece or Turkey.

In general, it may be said that negroes have a highly developed sexual apparatus and the energy that goes with it. Their pubic precocity finds a correspondence in lust, polygamy and debauchery. There are, nevertheless, exceptions. Falkenstein, for example, found that with the negroes of Loango, the appearance of menstruation exhibited as many variations as it does with us, appearing anywhere from the twelfth to the seventeenth year, and sometimes in the twentieth year.

But if on the one hand the negro's erotic powers lead him to fall into vicè, they inspire in him on the other hand great affections and ardent passions. I have known a number of negresses who exhibited loyal and generous passions, and such as would do honor to any of our own ladies, even the most idealistic ones. Following is an example:

Captain Stedman, having fallen in love with a beautiful negress of Surinan, is nursed by her through a serious illness, and thanks to her care, he recovers from it. When he is cured, he offers her liberty and his love. She declines his generous offer, saying: "I am destined to a life of slavery; if you show me too much attention, you will lose standing in the opinion of your friends. Moreover, it would cost you dearly to obtain my liberty; it would be difficult and perhaps impossible. I may be a slave, but I have a soul which I do not believe is inferior to that of Europeans. I do not blush therefore, to confess to you that I feel a very real affection for you, who have singled me out from all the other women of my walk in life. You have been very kind to me, Sir; and it is with all the pride that is in me that I now beseech you on my knees to permit me to remain near you until fate separates us or my conduct authorizes you to drive me from your presence." She said this weeping.

From that moment on, she became Stedman's companion. Inasmuch as he had given her many gifts, of a value totaling twenty pounds, he found upon the morrow that amount upon his table. The girl had taken all the objects back to the dealers, getting the money for them. since she did not wish to be paid for the affection she had shown the Captain.

A Makololo who accompanied Livingstone on his travels was a great lover of the ladies. Every time he saw a good looking girl, he would say: "Oh, how beautiful she is; I've never seen one like her, I wonder if she is married." And he would stand gazing after her until she was out of sight. He had four wives already but he was thinking of increasing the number.

Adamoli at Mogador saw a woman whose lover had been killed by her husband. As she was being tortured, this

woman kept repeating that her love would only cease with her life. He furthermore saw Fatma, a young girl of noble birth, who had fallen in love with a native of Genoa, abandon home and all she possessed to follow her heart's idol. Cast into prison and beaten by the Kaid, she still insisted under the most horrible mistreatment that she would always love the Christian. Her lover finally persuaded her to go away on a pilgrimage, from which she returned in a wholesome frame of mind.

So much for physical love; since to speak of quantity in the matter of pure affection may appear to be a sacrilege, or at best an inaccuracy.—But talking of ardor in love, and of the greater or less part that love plays in a life, we may say that the peoples of the warm, temperate zone, being endowed with a lively imagination, are undoubtedly the best lovers. As I see it (and I trust no one will take offense at this), the Italians are the foremost lovers among civilized races.

At the opposite pole would come the Tinne Indians, who lack the very words *lover* and *dear*, and for whom missionaries, when they come to translate the Bible into the Algonquin tongue, even had to invent a word which would take the place of the verb *to love*.

These ethnical differences are to be found also in individuals. For some, love is life's prime and ultimate joy, the one fixed idea to which all else must bow. Others are like Metellus Numidicus, the censor, who said to the Roman populace: "Had nature been so generous as to confer upon us an existence that had no need of woman, we should be free of a highly importunate companion."

The predominance of other passions, consuming the greater portion of a race's psychic energies, may quantitatively diminish love. When a race is a prey to the fever for conquest, it loves less than does a race that is leisurely and opulent, and which sits back to enjoy the pleasures of life. A study of history always shows us that if love flowers in any given epoch it is for the reason that the environment of the

age is favorable to it. The same thing happens as in a large orchard. One year, you have a wealth of peaches; another year, it is oranges that show their golden fruitage. The garden is the same, and so is the gardener; but the climate favors now one plant, and now another.

Roughly speaking, it may be said that there are an equal number of men and women born; but as life works out, many individuals die without ever having had a single love affair, while many women on the other hand will have had hundreds of lovers, and a number of sultans will have counted their mates by the thousand. Without the restraint of laws and prejudices and without the fear inspired by religion, man is naturally polygamous and the woman naturally polyandrous; the man is more often polygamous than the woman is polyandrous, for the simple reason that the latter is a weaker creature and less well off in this world's goods.

The principal causes of polygamy and polyandry are an overweening love of variety, and a pride in possessing what others do not possess. The need of variety is such that many times the worse is preferred merely because it is different from the better. That curiosity which was Eve's undoing is still to this day one of the most fertile sources of sin; and no woman known to Europeans, however ugly she may be, is free of the fertilizing effect of that curiosity.

Polygamy and polyandry, which have their origins in the deepest roots of human nature, may become social institutions, sanctioned by law.

The intensity of love is dependent upon the individual constitution rather than upon race. I have witnessed in America examples of ardent, tenacious, I might say almost sublime passions in a negress and in an Indian woman; while on the other hand I have known more than one European of refined feeling and keen intelligence, for whom love was an X, that is to say, a barely appreciable quantity in life's psychological equation.

Wood tells us of a young Kaffir girl who, having seen a chief dancing with much distinction, fell so hopelessly in

love with him that she lost all modesty and repaired to the prince's *kraal* to manifest to him the passion that was devouring her. The chief, who had never seen her, requested her to go away; and when she insisted upon remaining at any cost, the chief had to call upon his brother to conduct her back home. She, however, returned at once to the royal *kraal* and his time, her obstinacy was punished with heavy blows. A week later, for the third time, she knocked at the door of the beloved young man; and so great was her insistence that the chief's brother advised him to marry her, which he did. An eloquent example, but by no means a solitary one, tending to confirm the old proverb: *What woman wills, God wills*.

An incident of this sort would not be looked upon as possible by the Zulus, who purchase their wives. A special characteristic of their race is the most total separation of love and marriage. Love for them is free (as we have already seen), practically without any restraint in the form of modesty or written laws, whereas marriage is a contract in which material interests prevail; it is an affair of cows and of the making of children. This debases the level of the family, possibly even more than polyandry or polygamy. Ideal perfection with regard to the human family is represented by free choice; it is love which renders marriage holy, which, with its habitualizing of affection and its community of memories, provides the mainstay; this it is which solves the problem of causing love to survive the passing of first youth and the loss of physical beauty, by substituting slowly and gradually a most affectionate friendship, filled with gentle memories, to take the place of the glowing passion that once was. When interest or vanity usurp the place which love ought to occupy, then do we come near to the Zulus, for whom love and marriage are things that are different and unjoined; they are two harmonic notes, not two successive and necessary moments of the same phenomenon.

The fundamental basis of all love is ever that which I have described in my *Physiology of Love*, namely, aggression

and defense; and with few exceptions, this stands for the varied function of the two sexes in love. If from this first extremely simple formula, we go on to the higher psychological expressions of love, to jealousy, modesty, violence, and to the weaknesses inherent in the passion, we shall still invariably find that the prime source of all love is an *aggression* and a *defense*.

Apart from the intensity of love and the varying resistance of races in those struggles surrounding the sexual embrace, we have as many different forms of love as there are different psychologies in the human family and in the individuals making up that family. Morality in the matter of love may be measured with a semi-scientific accuracy by the degree of free choice involved and by the degree of respect in which the woman is held in the relationship of human mating. The greatest degree of idealism is to be found where neither of the pair is bought or sold; the greatest degree of morality where the woman is not looked upon as in any way the inferior of the man.

Even among neighboring tribes of the same race, morality may vary greatly. Among the Dayaks of Sibuyan, if a young girl becomes a mother *ante literam*, she offends the divinity of the place, the two guilty ones are punished with fines, and a pig is sacrificed to placate the gods. If in the interim someone falls sick or dies in a tribe, the guilty ones must pay for it, inasmuch as the misfortune is due to their sin.

On the other hand, the Dayaks of Batang and Lupar are a good deal less moral and it is rare with them for a girl to marry without having first become a mother. It is her guilty accomplice who must atone for the sin by marrying her. Often, however, the sinner is not to be found, the girl cannot adduce proof against the father of her child, and she is then driven out by all and may end by poisoning herself to escape the universal scorn. Her relatives kill a pig and with its blood wash the doors of the huts, again to placate the gods.

Patagonian women are as a rule faithful to their husbands; and only when they are mistreated do they have recourse to

a protector *extra muros*. If the latter is a man of a class inferior to that of the husband, the latter seeks to revenge himself; but if the protector is of superior rank, then the husband must make the best of matters.

Having made an ethnological excursion through the realms of love, having seen how Australians and Hottentots, negroes and Americans make love, having seen what the nature of the love act is at the poles and in the tropics, it should be worth our while, before bringing our rapid jaunt to an end, to look about and see how we ourselves make love, who are, or who believe that we are, upon the loftiest rungs of the human ladder. For it often happens that the things that are nearest to us are not the ones with which we are best acquainted.

But aside from the fact that devoting a few pages to a study of love in Europe might seem a highly audacious proceeding, there is the additional consideration that, if one were to treat in merely halfway fashion so serious a subject, whole volumes would be required, volumes of history, of psychology, of ethnology, of civil law, etc., etc.

Whoever would trace with exactitude the outlines of the present state of a human society must never forget that, in the picture which stands for today, one of life in action, we have always present certain elements of the past which last on through atavism, through tradition, or through the force of inertia; what we have is the elements of the present, those that are in motion about us and which constitute our daily life, and those which are preparing the life of the future. Elements of the past, of the present and of the future, all being woven in the depths of the human organism. Just as upon a single bough you see leaves and you see shoots which are yet to be born; you have flowers which are the present, and you have buds and ovules for the year to come.

Accordingly, love in Europe has certain common characteristics, for the reason that Europeans are men. There are atavistic memories of our forbears of old, who were savages, possibly anthropophagous; in any event, they were on a level

with the Australians or the Fuegians. There are contemporary facts, which make us what we are, such as Italians, Frenchmen or Germans, offshoots of Christianity, of the Renaissance, of the great Revolution of 1789, etc., etc. And in our aspirations toward a more ideal form of love, we have the nascent germs of the love that is to come. Among the elements that go to make up this picture and give it its varied hues are the different religions, the various codices, national and individual characteristics, influences undergone through geographic propinquity to other peoples, and finally, those influences deriving from letters, arts and sciences. Let anyone, in all this intricate network of threads, amid all the complicated problems that are raised, dare to pronounce judgment or utter dogmas!

In Europe as elsewhere, love has certain fundamental characteristics conferred upon it by human nature itself. Before being Italians or Europeans, we are men, and no sooner do those organs destined for reproduction begin to show that they are ready for their purpose than there at once appears in the man and in the woman all that complexus of centrifugal energy, acted upon by every element from the Olympus of thought to the lowest instincts of the flesh, the final object of which is to bring together the male and the female that they may rekindle the torch of life. This function is common not only to Europeans and to savages but to all animals endowed with sex.

The difference is, that the greater complexity of the central nervous organism in man tends to diffuse the amorous energy into various fields; and the most human characteristic of human love is that of being able to love even without the material satisfaction of the sexual instinct. Men love even before they reach the age of puberty, and they go on loving after they have passed the age of fertility.

The animal loves only that it may fecundate or be fecundated; man lays upon the altar of love all his treasures of thought and feeling; he not only loves platonically, but he may make a voluntary votive offering of complete sterility or of relative fecundity, governing with the moderating power of his cerebral hemispheres that most irresistible and

yrannical of his centrifugal energies, one which even in the animals leads to a sacrifice of the individual's life for that of the species.

Animal love moves within a narrow circle, determined by the need of bringing the egg into contact with the fecundating fluid. Human love moves between the widest of frontiers, limited only by the limitations of thought and feeling. For love in us becomes more human the more it is emancipated from instinct to become feeling and thought, the more it moves and has its being within an intellectual and sentimental world.

A man may even come to love, to adore a creature whom he has never seen, or who has never existed save in his own imagination. A man may love all his life long and remain chaste all his life. A woman may so love a man as to sacrifice her own love for his sake in order to procure his happiness, by throwing him into the arms of another woman, the one that he loves.

The European man is one of the highest types of the human race; but he has attained his elevated position through climbing one by one all the lower and intermediate rungs. He may be represented by the cipher 100, by 1000 if you like; but this figure is made up at once of unity and of tens. If the mighty of the earth and men of genius would but stop to think that they are only mighty and great for the reason that they represent the sum of many modest units; if the millionaire would only remember that his million is made up of thousands, of hundreds of lire, and that the lira is made up of a hundred centesimi,—if they were to keep all this in mind, it is possible that there would not be so many social revolutions!

We, then, while we may be Europeans, have in our veins the blood of those men who conquered their women by beating them over the head, who purchased or who sold their women, we then, putting aside certain depraved natures or certain instantaneous and irresistible outbursts of passion, may well exemplify all those lower forms of love which we have glimpsed among the Australians, the Hottentots and

the Kaffirs. Thus, in our organism we have a protoplasm like that of the amoeba and cells with vibratory antennae, which display the same motion that many infusoria do, and there are instances of partial respiration as in fishes. In the same way, we exhibit examples of violence, rape, love and abject libertinage; we are polyandrous, we are polygamous; we have free love, we have prostitution; we have incest, purchase and sale of love, orgies contrary to nature, all the filthy and shameful aspects of bestial love, savage love, love of the quaternary or the tertiary epoch.

But in addition to these atavistic manifestations, which are after all exceptions, we have put the seal of tradition upon certain nuptial usages reminiscent of an ancient period in which it was the custom to carry off the bride and almost always from another and enemy tribe. Metaphysical mythologists would search the heavens for the origin of this custom, but how could one ever say that the sun espouses Aurora and rapes her from the bosom of the night and that man is merely copying this myth upon earth? It is, as a matter of fact, the contrary that happens. We fashion the gods in our own image and likeness and bear up into heaven that which we have seen happen on the earth.

At Sparta, the nuptial ceremony was a real rape, but one which the bridegroom perpetrated in connivance with the relatives. In the Roman rite, in the time of Catullus, the husband pretended to be snatching his bride from her mother's arms. All these are but vestiges of a remote past, a lingering symbol of what once was reality.

But modern love, the living love of today, what is it like in the Europe that we know? The answer may be given in a brief and pithy formula: it is the result of two different and even opposed forces, of a lofty idealism which finds a sanction in religion and morality, and of an irresistible passion which, thanks to civilization, has become all the more exigent and filled with delights.

Religion and morality say: Thou shalt not covet another's wife; thou shalt love but one woman only, and thou shalt have the right to possess her only in marriage, and death only shall part you. She shall be thine only love, thine only

companion, the sole and legitimate mother of thy children. A loftier or more perfect morality could not be imagined. It not only demands of the man a thing which for him is most difficult, that is, to love but one woman and to love her always; but it even goes beyond the bounds of the possible, by forbidding him to desire another's woman. To the woman it is not said: Thou shalt not desire another's man; the bare possibility of this offense is not admitted.

But looking at the thing from a different point of view, society from economic causes renders marriage impossible for many men and women, and constancy in a single love is then very difficult. We here come upon three consequences which render the factual law so different from the written one: masturbation, prostitution, adultery. Yet for all three of these offenses, religion and the laws are in accord in threatening grave penalties in this life and in the life to come, consisting of purgatory and hell, prison and the gallows.

But alas, where the impossible is asked, laws and punishments remain written, while the crime goes down the public street wearing a mask and entering every house without need of scaling the windows or breaking down the door. What is more, there is not a great deal of belief in hell and purgatory, and adultery has become little more than the commonest of beefstews, to be hashed up in our literature and on the stages of our theaters.

The first and least harmful result of this contrast between that which is supposed to be and that which is, between that which is commanded and that which cannot be, is hypocrisy, now become a diplomatic cloak beneath which every crime and villainy, every low act or instinct in the form of love, may make its appearance in public without fear of being dragged before any tribunal or prosecuted by any law. The French proverb, *on ne pêche pas quand on pêche en secret*, ("a secret sin is no sin") affords an accurate expression of what has come to pass; and providing that appearances are kept up and one does his sinning decently, adultery becomes a jest and prostitution a safety valve, one designed to watch over the peace and well being of the family.

The ultimate consequence of a clash between an ideal that is too high, and an all too common habit of doing what one pleases, is this, that while we call ourselves monogamous, we are in truth polygamous and polyandrous at one and the same time; and in very many families, which are apparently happy and moral ones, the wife has a number of lovers, and the husband is the lover of other wives or of other women who sell their love. This is not only polyandry and polygamy and prostitution, but sexual promiscuity, the lowest and most animal-like form of love.

In Europe, this organic and epidemic immorality in love is heightened by another powerful influence, the economic necessities of the family. The demand for luxuries has grown a good deal more rapidly than have the facilities for satisfying them. The dread of economic hardship makes marriages rarer; while the celibate, if he does not purchase love, lives by sexual plunder and sows his own children in the house of another. What a distance we are now from that divinely arcadian precept: *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife!*

We no longer pay the father outright for the young girl whom we would make our life companion; but we see to it that we ourselves are paid by the father-in-law in soundly clinking coin of the realm; and he who has a title proceeds to put it on the auction block, by way of gilding his coat of arms. The rich heiress accordingly seeks to be a countess, a marchesa, or a princess, depending upon the number of millions which she can offer the count, the marchese or the prince.

The economic problem intrudes itself with so much insistency into the question of marriage as to elbow out natural attraction, affection, and those selective affinities depending upon individual characteristics and education. Even in England, where there is a greater degree of morality than with us, the younger sons of large families seek out only daughters; and Galton, a long time ago, pointed out the unfortunate effects of this variety of choice upon the future of the British race.

Marriage in such a case is no longer the sanction of a free choice, is no longer the path which leads to love's fulfillment, but becomes a contract of purchase and sale, a union of fortunes and of family titles. The first and inevitable consequence of this is adultery, since men and women must feel the need of a love that is frank, free and ardent; and if marriage excludes love, men and women alike must look for it elsewhere.

Nor is this all. The stupid attitude which would keep concealed from girls every mystery having to do with love has the effect of giving them over, bound hand and foot, to a husband who is, it may be, a worn out roué, but upon whom the law confers the right of legal debauchery; for legal debauchery is a term to be applied to the wedding night in the case of many a bridal pair. But yesterday, a mere kiss was a sin, a sacrilege; today, the most senseless and depraved whims on the part of a male who is a husband have become the bounden duties of a pure and innocent young girl.

So dark a picture as this need not be painted in the case of every country. Where girls are more free, and where they do not have dowries, the accompanying perils are diminished by half; marriage is more moral; and adultery is an exception, not a tolerated habit on the part of a human society.

Having made a survey of the present, it is now for us to see if we can find the tiny bud which represents the future. Will that future be better or worse than the present is? I may be too much of an optimist; but I have a blind faith in human progress. Let us not be too put out at seeing an increase of wrong doing round about us, at beholding so much cynicism, so much skepticism, and so little of idealism. Heaven may have wreaked its vengeance upon this earth of ours, the center of moral gravity may have been displaced; but a new world is in process of birth, and we are conscious of the birth pangs.

The world is bound to get better, since a more accurate knowledge of the human heart cannot but lead to the fashioning of a seemlier, warmer and safer abode for love. Following, if I am not mistaken, are the first crepuscular signs upon the horizon of a better future in store for love:

Less ignorance of sexual matters on the part of young girls.

Free choice on the part of both sexes, in place of a contract imposed by parents and endured by their offspring.

Less hypocrisy.

Restitution of its dignity to marriage, divorce being surrounded by wise precautions.

And finally—and do not be scandalized at this—a sincere and clean-cut separation of free and sexual love from that troth which is plighted between two creatures, who have come to know each other thoroughly well over a period of time, and who are animated by a desire to found a family.

Let us see to it that we remain monogamous in the bosom of the family; let us keep our ideal of love as high as possible; but let us not demand of love more than it is capable of doing. Let us not put cardboard wings upon a creature that is destined to keep its feet always upon the earth.

In 1605, at Delft in Holland, a certain man died at the age of a hundred and three; and his wife, at the age of ninety-nine, followed him to the grave three years later. They had lived together happily for seventy-five years. What was possible for them is possible for all. This at least is the prophecy with which I leave you, in exchange for that courteous attention with which you have followed me through this long volume, laden with so many quotations and so many barbaric-sounding names.

NOTES AND ADDITIONS

NOTE A.—Among the Tehuelche, the appearance of puberty in a girl is marked by a feast. The father announces the fact to the *cachique*, and the latter informs the medicine man, who proceeds to paint himself with ceruse, and to extract blood from his arms and forehead. The women at the same time set about sewing together many *mandil*, and a number of young men take these and, singing and shouting, make of them a great *toldo*, which they trig out with spears, bells, flags and metallic beads that make a noise as they are stirred by the wind. The name of this house means *the house beautiful*. The girl is placed in a hidden part of this improvised edifice. The men then mount horseback and go to round up a number of mares, which they kill with a blow on the head in order to obtain their blood, the latter being consumed as a great delicacy. There is a great feast in the house that has been spoken of; and when evening comes, there is dancing to the accompaniment of music by drums and wind instruments made from the shin-bone of the llama. Four Indians in white garments, their heads adorned with ostrich feathers, walk about in a circle around a lighted fire, beating time with their hands. They then cast aside their cloaks and are seen to be adorned with white paint and laden with little bells. When the first four have tired themselves out, others come up to take their places, but these are always men. For puberty in boys there is no feast. The women do not dance.

NOTE B.—Tasmanian women surely have a different idea of modesty from what our ladies do; for they sometimes wear around their necks, as a cherished remembrance, their dead husband's penis. The women of Gippsland, in Australia, also do this.

NOTE C.—There is scarcely an East Indian temple in which there is not to be found a phallus or a *linga*, and the adoration of this object is one of the principal dogmas of the Hindustan religion. There is also a black basalt stone which appears to be jutting out from another stone that is carved in the shape of the female pudenda (*argha* or *yoni*). Both of these emblems together are known as *lingioni*, or simply *lingam*.

The representation of the union of the sexes points to the divine *sacti*, or active principle of union, the productive force in nature, the earth being the female pudenda fecundated by the sun.

The lingas vary in size; as big as kidney beans, they are worn as amulets; when three or four inches in length, they are set up in the house as domestic symbols. The parochial lingas are two or three feet long. Village girls who are anxious to have a lover or a husband go to the temple early in the morning to adore this emblem, sprinkling it with *gunga pavone*, or Ganges water, wreathing it with garlands of the sweet-smelling *bilwa* flower, making in front of it *mudra*, or gesticulations with the fingers, reciting the prescribed *muntrus*, or incantations, rubbing against the phallus and praying God to make them fertile mothers.

Then there is the solemn feast, at which five lamps are lighted, as a bell is rung to keep evil spirits at a distance. Use is also made of the *mola*, or rosary with a hundred and eight beads.

In the monolithic temples of India, the lingas are of enormous size, sometimes forty feet long and twenty-five feet in circumference. These are, however, simple lingas without the *yoni*. Other lingas are more miraculous, being famed for their holiness. Thus in the Kedra Kalpa of Nahdiupa-Purana, twelve lingas of transcendental sanctity are exhibited. It is not only the disciples of Shiva who worship their god, under the form of a phallus; there are also the Viashnamas, or followers of Vishnu, who are Lingayelts, that is, persons who wear the linga on some part of their body. The linga is of silver, brass, gold or beryl; it is the *fascinum* of the Romans, the *jettatura* of the Neapolitans.

Pettersson, who deals at length with the subject of *lingapuja*, in Vol. 8 of *Asiatic Research*, states that no obscene idea was originally attached to the phallic symbol.

It is possible that phallic worship came to Greece and Rome from India. According to Theodoretus, Arnobius and Clement of Alexandria, the *yoni* was the sole object of veneration in the Eleusinian mysteries; and when the people of Syracuse sacrificed at Eleusis, they made an offering of cakes in the form of the vulva, *μυλλοί*; and in certain temples, where the priestess was probably a ventriloquist, the crowd was made to believe that it was the vulva speaking and giving forth oracles. Sellon adds that the *argo* of the Greeks, the *cymbium* of the Egyptians, and the *arghe* or *yoni* of India were all represented by a bowl or small

boat. Osiris in the boat, Noah in the ark, or arghe, and Isovane coming out of the yoni are probably of common origin and stand for the sexes in conjunction.

Phallic worship also exists in the Dahomey region. Almost every road is adorned with a huge phallus. The Sohomdam priapus is a clay figure which appears to be surveying its own attributer; the head is often of wood, and the eyes and teeth are made of *cowries*. They anoint it with palm oil, the drops of which are caught in a vessel placed beneath.

NOTE D.—In the Okanda country (equatorial Africa), the women have no sense of modesty or of morality.

NOTE E.—Wynwood Reade, speaking of negroes in general, states that he has seen infants of four or five snigger mischievously at their father's obscene songs, while those of eight or nine were to be seen already indulging in every form of debauchery.

NOTE F.—In the Mombutto region, there is great liberty with regard to love and much vague polygamy; the women are immodest and obscene. All this affords a striking contrast with the reserved conduct of the Benga women. King Munga has eighty young women, living in separate huts about his palace. The wives of a dead father form an addition to the harem, with other matrons of various rank. It is said that there is a serenade with musical instruments and the singing of the Mombuttan hymn at night. The hymn runs: *ee, ee, Munga, tchuppy-tchuppy*.

NOTE G.—With the Kirghiz, modesty, chastity and jealousy are almost wholly unknown. Husbands are frequently to be seen inviting their friends to make use of the wife. The young girls as well enjoy the greatest possible liberty in their sexual relations. The women of the Hezarehs are very debauched and their husbands are not at all jealous.

NOTE H.—The Annamite women are freegoing in their habits, and sexual relations between father and daughter and even between mother and son are not rare. The upper class Cambogians, like the ancient Persians, countenance marriage between brother and sister.

NOTE I.—Here, to conclude, is a document which casts a valuable light on modern debauchery. It is a letter addressed by the superintendent of a Belgian coal mine to a physician.

Monsieur le docteur,

Dans son numéro du 14 juin 1873, l'Union de Charleroi, à propos d'un attentat à la pudeur commis dans une houillère, dit: "Qu'il est à sa connaissance que toute jeune fille descendant pour la première fois dans la bure doit payer à la lubricité de ses compagnons un tribut ignoble qui exclut toute idée de pudeur; que cela est de tradition, que la vertu n'est pas admise dans les charbonnages et que le premier sacrifice que doit faire la jeune fille pour y'être admise, c'est celui de sa dignité virginale."

L'Union de Charleroi fait ensuite intervenir les médecins des populations charbonnières et elle laisse entendre qu'en s'exprimant de la sorte elle s'appuie sur le langage qu'ils auraient tenu.

Vous aurez compris l'importance du témoignage sur lequel l'Union prétend s'appuyer et, en conséquence, la nécessité pour nous de savoir si ce journal est fondé à vous prêter semblable opinion.

Nous comptons, Monsieur le docteur, que vous voudrez bien nous répondre le plus tôt possible.

Recevez, etc.

Le Directeur-Gérant.

Dear Doctor,

In its number of June 14, 1873, the *Union de Charleroi*, in speaking of an offense against modesty committed in a coal pit, states: "That it is in possession of information to the effect that every young girl who goes down the mine shaft for the first time, must pay an ignoble tribute by yielding to the debauched instincts of her companions, a concession which excludes all idea of modesty; that this is a matter of tradition, that virtue is not permitted in the collieries, and that the first sacrifice which the young girl must make in order to be admitted is that of her self-respect as a virgin."

The *Union de Charleroi* then goes on to bring in the *physicians of the coal-mining neighborhood*, letting it be understood that use is being made of the language which they themselves would employ.

You will appreciate the importance of the evidence upon which the *Union* asserts that it is basing its remarks, and the consequent necessity for our knowing whether or not the newspaper is right in attributing such an opinion to you.

We trust, my dear Doctor, that we may hear from you as soon as possible in this matter.

Yours very truly, etc.

The Superintendent-in-Charge.

NOTE K.—The Danach women (Red Sea coast, Africa), until such time as they are of marriageable age, keep fitted into the right cartilage of their nose, which is perforated for this purpose, a thorn or a bit of sharpened wood, for which they

substitute a metallic ring as soon as they are married; a custom that is also common among the Abyssinian women and those of the Bogos.

NOTE L.—The chastity of noble-born girls at Samoa is highly valued, and old women are held responsible for the girls. When a chief wishes to wed one of them, the tribes to which the bridal pair belong gather in a *malae*, or open square such as is found in the center of every city and village, where the bride's chastity is put to the proof in the presence of the multitude. If the test turns out well, loud and prolonged cries proclaim the fact that the honor of the tribe and the father's dignity have been saved. If the reverse turns out to be the case, the unfortunate girl's brothers and even her father leap upon her and put her to death in a moment; every trace of her memory is obliterated, and even her name is forgotten.

When the tribes have been brought together, all the young girl's clothing is removed and she is seated upon a snow-white mat. The bridegroom-chief is seated opposite her, and he now lays his left hand upon the bride's right shoulder and places the first two fingers of his right hand into her vulva, while two old women hold her firmly from behind. A moment later, the bridegroom raises his two fingers in front of the solemn and silent multitude, which stands waiting to see the blood drop. Then there are shouts and a great hubbub, as the two old women lift up the poor trembling maid that all may behold the blood dripping down along her thighs. The white mat, crimsoned by the blood, is then exposed to the multitude and a great feast concludes the ceremony. Three days later, the bridegroom possesses his bride.

Private citizens do not go through with this scene in public; but no Samoan possesses his wife without having first destroyed her hymen with his fingers and shown to relatives the mats drenched with blood.

The women of this island have a horror of an uncircumcised man.¹

NOTE M.—Priests in the kingdom of Cambogia are entrusted with the task of deflowering girls, and this function is termed *tchin-than*. This service must be paid for, and friends give to poor girls the money necessary for the *tchin-than*.

¹ Pritchard, *Notes on certain anthropological matters respective the South Sea Islands* (Samoans), *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, 1863-1864, Vol. I., p. 324.

"I heard him go into the next room with the virgin and there deflower her with his hand. He then dipped his hand into some wine, with which, some tell us, father, mother and near relatives as well as neighbors make a sign on their foreheads; others say that they drink the wine. Some too assert that the priest goes through the act of coitus with the girl, although there are those who dispute this."²

I find the following written record of the priests of the kingdom of Tchín-la: "*Deinde virginitatem aufert digito, quo et frontem subinde rubra macula notat, maculam accipit et mater puellae. Hoc est quod vocant Li-chi.*" ("Then he takes away her virginity with his finger, and makes a red mark therewith upon the forehead, and this mark the girl's mother also receives. This is what they call Li-chi.")

NOTE N.—The Somalians, on the other hand, are rather fond of finding the path of pleasure clear. Following childbirth, their women fumigate their sexual organs by burning aromatic spices and they constrict the vagina by bathing it with lime water.

NOTE O.—The Samoans also never have contact with their women at the critical period, and the women are instructed not to tempt their husbands at that time.

NOTE P.—Procopius, speaking of the famous Theodora, who bewailed the fact that she had but three altars upon which she might sacrifice to Venus, and who desired that even her nipples might be converted into pleasure-nests, is the one to bring us an account of this strange sexual perversion.

"Lying down upon the floor she would stretch out flat upon her back, and certain servants who were charged with this duty would then scatter barley grains over her shameful parts; after this, geese who had been trained for the purpose would pick out the barley grains and eat them."

NOTE Q.—I know one such individual who put riding-spurs on his loved one's heels and had himself pricked with them until the blood came during the sexual embrace. In a number of houses of prostitution, switches are kept for flogging the impotent, for kindling lust or augmenting pleasure.³

NOTE R.—A celebrated French woman writer confessed that she had been possessed by two men at once, *en sandwich*.

² Text in Latin.

³ See the curious work of Giovanni Meibornio, *De flagrorum usu in re venerea*, Leida, 1629.

NOTE S.—The historian, Franz, first chamberlain and secretary to the Emperor, fell into the hands of the Turks. His two children, in the flower of their youth and beauty, were set aside for the use of Mohammed II. The daughter died in the seraglio, possibly a virgin still. The son, in his fifteenth year, preferring death to infamy, died by the Sultan's own hand, when that monarch made an immodest attack upon him.

NOTE T.—In northern China, sodomy is very common, being a form of prostitution which claims its victims especially from the poor lads of Peking. There are houses which take these boys in; but the lordly patrons are not accustomed to go there; they have their venal loves brought to their palaces. The theatre is a fertile soil for masculine prostitution among the Chinese, women's parts on the stage being taken by beardless youths.⁴

NOTE U.—At Naples, pederasts go through a marriage rite marked by all the pomp that accompanies an ordinary wedding; The *Cinaedi* even go so far as to imitate pregnancy and childbirth.

NOTE V.—I know another gentleman of very noble birth, a husband and a father, who has all the attributes of the perfect *vir*, but whose only desire is to give himself to the most handsome young men that he meets with on his travels or whom he takes into his service. He has never yielded to this desire, and as a result is most unhappy. He comes of a neurotic family, and has brothers who are anomalous in their erotic tastes.

NOTE W.—Following the publication of the first edition of this book of mine, which has been so slandered, I received from various parts of Europe some of the most interesting and eloquent letters, wherein men of exquisite sensibility portrayed for me, under the most striking hues, their love for persons of the same sex. Being ashamed of this perversion of theirs, they came to me for a remedy or for advice. I only regret that the sacredness with which a physician must regard confessions of this sort restrains me from publishing a number of them. As it is, I must be content with giving the following, which is a bit of deeply sincere autobiographical analysis on the part of a man born with sodomitic tendencies:

⁴ For the history of Chinese sodomy, see the *Journal de Pharmacologie*, "*De la prostitution en Chine*," par le docteur G. Schlegel, trad. du hollandais par le docteur Spaak.

"Alas! what torture, what torture, what a horrible torment
 poison the pitiable existence
 of one whom nature already
 betrayed in the mother's womb
 by giving to me a male's
 sex and appearance, and all the while
 I have a woman's heart and feelings
 and desires— Oh, heaven! what bitterness
 comes over me as I think
 of the superhuman joys that would be mine,
 the holy joy with which my life would flower,
 if only I had come into this world
 a woman! . . .
 a woman, I should not have been
 a Cleopatra or a Messalina, but
 a wise and loving Penelope, who
 of my love would have made a shield
 to guard my consort's peace, that neither quarrels
 or heartaches of this world might have assailed him.
 O sweetest dream! to love him so intently,
 and by him bear the fruit of my own bosom,
 which he had rendered fertile, nourish them
 with my own blood, handsome and strong
 to bring them up, and to instill in them
 that high Morality which woman alone
 inspired by love, in others can inspire.

"These verses, which I improvised in a moment of wretchedness about three weeks ago, will serve to orient you accurately enough regarding my state of mind. I am not an abject creature longing for vice. No! I am a well-intentioned and unfortunate being, who suffers enormously while friends and acquaintances believe him to be the happiest and most carefree person on the face of the earth, simply because he has no vices. I abstain from wine, I abstain from tobacco, I abstain from women, and I could not even shuffle a deck of cards. A man, I love a person of my own sex, love him with transports, deliriously, with a mystic adoration! He is aware of this, and while being kind enough to pity me, is not kind enough to spare me his witticisms and his cruel derision, yet there is no one else in the world for me but him; and to spare him the slightest displeasure, I should be ready to sacrifice not merely my life, but my reputation as well! I love him so greatly that, grieved by the fact that he is rather a rake with women, I who am an atheist am frequently surprised to find myself praying to God to have him meet a good and beautiful girl who may become his wife, and who would give him children over whom I might watch as if they were my own. Such is the passion that is mine. Let him who will call it filthy and disgusting? If there are in this world dissolute women and prostitutes, there are at the same time virtuous and holy wives and mothers; and so if there are abject and lascivious pederasts, there are also poetic ones capable of the noblest self-abnegation.

"I am twenty-one years of age and in no wise an effeminate individual; my height is what it should be; the same is true of my general physical

build, although I am a little inclined to be fat; my voice is something of a baritone; my beard is very thick; and my genital organs are absolutely normal, well formed and of reasonable proportions. The beauties of nature exercise a powerful attraction over me, as do the fine arts, and especially music and poetry. My sole pastimes in the city are theatres and concerts; in the country, excursions into the mountains.

"Upon analyzing my erotic instincts, I find in them not so much a *perversion* as an *inversion*. The truth of the matter is, feminine beauty leaves me absolutely cold; while on the other hand the sight of a Herculean torso or a pair of athletic legs arouses in me a profound admiration, accompanied by powerful sexual desire.

"But this inclination of mine towards the aspects of *masculine beauty* is manifest not alone in the form of carnal desire, but in *all* the expressions of esthetic feeling with me. Thus it is, I stand lost in ecstasy before an alpine panorama, with its horrendous precipices, its snowclad peaks and its impetuous torrents; while I have a violent distaste for the pretty hillside with its green slopes, its flowery ledges, its waterfalls and its rivulets. Similarly in music, I prefer sweeping and majestic rhythms with crashing chords, arpeggios and changes of tone, while being little moved by brilliant allegro passages. Again, of all the meters in prosody, I care only for the hendecasyllabic, as being the one that is most fluent and majestic, while all the others impress me as being adapted only to expressing the ideas of suckling babes and the like. In short, all my esthetic feelings have to do with strong, majestic and grandiose conceptions; those which are merely graceful, pretty and charming awaken no echo in my soul. Is it to be wondered at, then, if for me the type of sexual beauty is symbolised by Hercules and Mars rather than Venus or the Graces?

"Coming then to speak of my carnal desires, I will say that they find extrinsic expression in a lively impulse to press the man I love to my bosom and to be united with him as man to woman, or as woman to man; I would that one of the two (no difference) should have a cavity there where there is a protuberance (masculine tribadism). The desire I feel, therefore, is not a sodomitic one; it is not a *perverted* sexual instinct, but rather an *inverted* one.

"Those physicians whom I have consulted up to now have been unanimous in telling me that, by overturning all my tastes and seeking to accustom myself to feminine contacts, I should have little trouble in deflecting into the proper channel the current of my erotic inclination. But have I the *right* to undertake such a cure? Supposing that, once cured, I were to procreate other unfortunates who would bear within them the sorry legacy left by my psychic abnormality?! How I should then feel like cursing my own selfish lack of foresight!!!

"But how comes it that an instinct so against nature can have a place in organisms neither physically nor intellectually degenerated? I believe that I am in a position to provide the explanation; but inasmuch as the story is a rather long and involved one, I must ask your charitable patience in listening to it.

"A while back, I raised an objection to the phrase *against nature*, by remarking that no instinct, however strangely abnormal, could be said to be *against nature*, if it were congenital and not acquired. If Mother Nature

herself were to come in person to demand of me an accounting for what I have just said, I should reply to her: 'O Mother Nature, you who pride yourself upon being so foreseeing and so provident, why then do you amuse yourself with these jests perpetrated at the expense of your beloved children? Why is it, if you care so greatly for your rules being scrupulously observed, that you divert yourself by creating organisms which *cannot* observe them?! You give me the impression of being like a housewife who, having put potatoes on the fire, would lament that she did not have truffles to take off the fire.' Would the housewife in question be able to say that the potatoes have remained potatoes *against* her will?

"It may be objected that the phrase *against nature* is to be interpreted in the sense of *contrary to the rule*. Let us see, therefore, if the rule really exists.

"The statistics to be found in history show us that at least a good one-tenth of all the famous persons of the world have manifested this inversion of the sexual instinct. An inexorable logic would accordingly demand that this proportion of ten per cent be extended to the whole of humanity and is not, perhaps, this high number of exceptions alone sufficient to cause us to doubt of the rule?

"Furthermore, inversion of the sexual instinct is not a special privilege of the human race. In the dovecote of a farm house belonging to an uncle of mine, three or four years ago, there were two male pigeons which, paired off from infancy by the death of their respective females, had become quite accustomed to keeping each other's company and, whether for good or ill, did not care to pair off with any other birds; until one fine day, the farmer's wife cut their throats, saying that it was no use keeping them alive since they did not care to have offspring.

"In a meadow of Valganna sul Varesotto, I saw two young heifers playing a game with each other. One of them would make water, and when she had done, her companion would thoroughly and avidly lick her genital parts; after which, the other heifer would make water, and the performance would be repeated by her companion. When I asked the herdsman for an explanation of this, he told me that those two heifers always did that, stubbornly refusing to let the bull come near them, and that he, in an effort to rid them of this vice, had tried keeping them separate from each other, since he happened to have two stalls; but he had had to put them back together again after two days' time, for the reason that when they were left alone, they were as melancholy as could be and refused any sort of food whatsoever.

"As to the sodomy that goes on between dogs in city streets, it is so well known to all that it is superfluous to make mention of it here.

"May it not, then, be that, in seeking from Pathology a key to this psychologic enigma, we are guilty of an error? May it not be that we should rather seek it from anthropology? Let us see how things stand:

"The Instincts are not *in themselves* natural laws, but rather the *manifestation* or *effect* of such laws (known or unknown as the case may be). That very instinct by virtue of which, generally (as a thing useful for the conservation of the species), the male seeks out the female and vice versa, must itself have a cause, a cause which I believe to be based upon atavism and transformationism.

"*Even* admitting (it is *doubtful enough*) that the two sexes were distinct

and bore their characteristic marks from the time of the first couple known to the human race (or for that matter, to any race), there is no basis whatsoever for the assertion that *sensual* love between those two primitive individuals came to them from their difference in sex. Each of them unconsciously felt the need of kissing and ardently embracing the being of *his own species* with whom he lived; but this desire on their part was (if I may be permitted the phrase) a *blank* desire; that is to say that it found extrinsic expression in a desire that was simply carnal, but not *sexual*. It was then, without *physiological premeditation* that they became accustomed to coitus. And if this coitus, favored (*for its own sake*) by the difference in sexes, bestowed children upon them, their instinct deserved no share of the credit. The carnal instinct of the parents, a *blank* one, was transformed with the sons into a carnal instinct that was *indefinite* or (to put it better) *dependent upon individual taste*. Thus, there would be three psychic qualities in the male, and three in the female: masculine proclivities toward females; masculine proclivities towards males; and masculine proclivities towards both sexes (a *blank* masculine inclination); and: feminine proclivities towards males; feminine proclivities towards females; and feminine proclivities towards both sexes (a *blank* feminine inclination). Now, individual proclivities towards the same sex (eliminating always a question of reproductive faculties) would pass away without leaving any progeny behind, while all the other forms of inclination result in offspring. But among the individuals who left progeny, there would have been certain *blank* individuals; and it is, I believe, their psychic legacy which is responsible for the presence among us still today (although it is rare) of the three individual qualities for each sex. Over against the category of *blank* individuals, there would have to be set a fourth (not numerous) classification of *blank* individuals, that is to say, individuals who go through their life without ever experiencing any carnal desire, but for all of that living happily, contentedly and blessedly (in their frigidity).

"Where any pederast endowed with the proper amount of self esteem is concerned, if he refrains so far as possible from satisfying his own peculiar desires, it is not so much out of fear of the Penal Code (which after all is easily escaped) as it is out of consideration for his reputation, this being (whether we will it or not) the human intellect's chief support. Let us, accordingly, have a brief look at that Society to which I and so many of my unfortunate companions are forced to make so great a sacrifice; let us see what its judgments are in connection with the carnal instincts.

"Supposing, for example, that we step into a cafe and drop down at a table where four or five good cronies are holding a confidential session. Let us listen to them; and we shall hear Tizio telling of how he did the *high school* with Cleonice, and how heavenly it was. . . . Cajo (not to be outdone by Tizio) will tell how he did the 69 with Clorinda. . . . Sempronio will tell of the pleasures he had between the white breasts of Berenice, who is really *fat as a quail*. . . . And finally, Martino (father of a family) will explain how, since they have children enough at their house, he and his wife have hit upon this rule, not to come together except with *Parisian gloves*, or else be satisfied with feminine masturbation. And Society, when it comes to pass judgment on these four *merry blades* (?), will be satisfied with shaking its head sympathetically and murmuring with a smile, Won-

derful youth! it will be time enough for you to be moral when you are old!— But if so-and-so were to come into that same cafe and reveal himself to that group of cronies by saying, 'I love a person of my own sex; I love him with all the powers of my being; and to win his love, I feel capable of undergoing any proof there is!—if anyone were to say this, that one would be a mad man, a shameless monster, a gallow's bird! Heaven save us!!!

"Yet between such a group of merry blades and a gathering of pederasts, under the patronage of such shades as those of Orpheus, Orestes and Pylades, Socrates and Alcibiades, Anacreon, Horace, Virgil, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, Brunetto Latini, Frederick the Great, and so many other of humanity's noblemen—between the two gatherings, what comparison would there be. Or between me, who hesitate to put myself under treatment for fear of procreating other unfortunates, and that respectable father of a family, who, in order to limit his offspring, approaches his wife only with contraceptives, or else with a *good handful*—between him and me, where does the morality lie?!

"I shall be told, however, that love between persons of opposite sex is a sacred thing, inasmuch as its object is the conservation of the species, while on the contrary that between persons of the same sex is degrading, for the reason that it has no such purpose in view. To this I shall reply (even putting aside all the Malthusian frauds and all the unproductive obscenities which take place between men and women) that it is *not in the least* a merit on the part of the pair, nor due to their planning, if the uterus of the wife, impregnated by the husband's semen, brings to light nine months later a little child, beautiful or ugly as the case may be.—Let us not be making silk purses out of sows' ears!

"Not that I wish to appear a Cicero *pro domo sua*, but out of a pure love for the truth, I should like to inquire what harm could come to humanity, if society's laws were to permit each one (while remaining always within the sphere of his own rights) to satisfy his sexual instincts in accordance with his own psychic needs. I can see no harm, but I can see a twofold good. Once pederasts were permitted to consort together freely without *obscene* precautions, cases of corruption in individuals who are *not* pederasts by *native* instinct would be infinitely rarer than they are. In the second place, far fewer fine intelligences would be confronted by a sterile choice between one of three alternatives: a life that is physiologically unhappy; the contempt and imposed penalties of society; and hypocritical subterfuges! It may be added that, in a society which showed itself so clement, *blank* individuals would even be encouraged to consort only with persons of the same sex. In this fashion (keeping in mind my atavistic-hereditary theory), within a period of fifty years, there would be no more *healthy* persons possessing an *inverted* or *blank* sexual instinct.

"My suggestion, for all of that, is not practicable, for the very simple reason that the deputy who would be so bold as to introduce such a measure in parliament would run the risk of being stoned, even in the present year of grace. One must be content then with desiring a mere reform of the legal provisions now in force. In connection with pederasty, the Code should distinguish three sets of circumstances: criminal assault;

corruption; and mutual consent. As to the first, the law cannot be too severe. As to corruption, the penalty should be the half of what it is for assault. As to cases of mutual consent, it seems to me that the best thing the authorities could do would be to wink an eye, or even both eyes, at the thing. I cannot see what is to be gained in this instance by publicity and scandal. Take my own case. Up to three years ago, I thought I was the only one in the world. If I became aware of the fact that I had companions in misery, it was due to reading the court news.

X.Y.Z."

Skipping back now over a number of centuries, I should like to set beside this modern and altogether human document a sublime passage from Theocritus, in which the most ingenuous among the old Greek writers gives expression to his love for a boy:

"Woe to this grave, oppressive malady, this quartan fever, this love of a boy, which holds me tossing now for the second month, that is to say, for two months past. On certain days, it has its will of me; and on certain days, not. On some days the lad treats me almost harshly; on other days, he smiles at me with dimpling cheeks. Soon I shall not be able to close an eye in sleep, since yesterday as he passed he looked at me through half-lowered lids, being too abashed to look me in the face; and his own face was crimson, and love brimmed my heart more than ever, and I came home with a fresh wound and a tumult inside me, mulling over many things in my mind, as I reasoned with myself like this: And why do you do this? Where is this madness of yours to end? Do you not see that you already have white hairs on your temples? It is time that you were conducting yourself accordingly instead of trying to become young in your actions. One moment, you act as one who has already drained the chalice of the years; and another moment, you appear to forget it all. Surely it would have been better for the aging lover to remain a stranger to this lad and the pain he brings, since life trails those pains as it does the swift hind's young . . . and tomorrow it will pass on to track the day elsewhere; this when the flower of youth is not plucked by those of equal age. The one who remembers the pain of it all knows a gnawing in his bones, and in the night he sees many dreams; a year in its entirety would not suffice to free him from his wearing malady! These reproaches and many others did I cast up to my own mind. It told me this, that he who thinks he can conquer love is a manufacturer of deceits; as easily might he measure the stars above us when the heavens are at their full. And now, I am but a will; and if I do not will, then I must stretch forth my neck and bear the yoke since the good God has willed these things, He who perverted even Jove's great mind and that of the Cyprian herself. For me, then, the ephemeral leaf which goes seeking its little breeze. It is my destiny to bear with resignation this heaven-sent malady."

NOTE X.—A learned theologian, after having perused the first edition of this book, wrote me that we also find in the Bible that Holophernes was seduced first of all by Judith's sandals . . . "*sandalia ejus rapuerunt oculos ejus.*"

NOTE Y.—Among the twelve crimes formerly punishable with death in Connecticut were acts contrary to nature, including bestiality; and such crimes were not rare in New England, if we are to credit the American historians themselves.

NOTE Z.—I have not spoken of that form of debauchery which consists merely of an excessive indulgence in the sexual embrace, for the reason that I have written at length of this in my *Hygiene of Love*, and for the reason that the standard is altogether relative to the sexual powers of the individual. I have a friend who sacrifices to Venus once or twice a year, and another (an Englishman), already past seventy, who has drawn up the following sexual code: *From 20 to 30, night and morning; from 30 to 50, night or morning; from 50 to 70, three times a week; from 70 to 80, a little whimsical indulgence now and then.* But the English usually put it this way:

Twenty to thirty, night and morning;

Thirty to forty, night or morning;

Forty to fifty, now and then;

Fifty to sixty, God knows when.

Many forms of impiety may really be said to be complicated forms of the sexual passion. The reader will recall, for example, those Lombards who aided Narsetes to conquer the Goths, who in the course of their savage invasions defiled matrons and virgins upon the altar.

NOTE AA.—The Massai and the Oua-Kouafi of equinoxial Africa are also circumcised.

NOTE BA.—At Samoa, the women have a great repugnance for the men who are not circumcised. Pritchard knew but a single Samoan who had a prepuce, and he was the laughing stock of all and could find no woman who was willing to become his wife.

NOTE CA.—The Binouas (negroid tribes of Malacca) are not circumcised, but have a simple incision made in the prepuce.

NOTE DA.—Those who are so operated in Turkey are almost always young slaves who have been brought from the Sennaar and Darfour districts and turned over to the Koptic monks of Egypt, who have almost exclusive charge of this national industry.

The Pasha of Egypt has conferred special privileges and im-

munities upon Zawyet el Deyr, for the reason that its inhabitants, although they are Christians, have earned a great name for themselves in connection with the art of castration.

The preferred age for castration is from six to seven years. Testicles and scrotum are tightly bound up and then cut with a razor. The wound is cauterized, or astringents are applied. Although these youths are chosen from among the handsomest ones, they fall off in physique and have a sickly aspect. Around three hundred of them are sold every year at Constantinople and cost somewhere in the neighborhood of 20,000 piastres apiece, whereas an ordinary slave costs only from 1,000 to 2,000. (Oppenheim.)

NOTE EA.—Gibbon remarks that Narsetes is to be looked upon as one of the very few who have been able to rescue the unfortunate term of eunuch from that contempt and loathing bestowed upon it by the human race. In his case, a feeble and flabby body concealed the mind of a statesman and warrior. He was an admirable ambassador on numerous occasions, headed an army in Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of warfare and of the country, and was spirited enough to pit himself against the son-in-law of Belisarius. Twelve years following his return, he was selected to complete a conquest which Rome's leading general had left unfinished.

NOTE FA.—It is probable that the practice of constricting the penis within a conch modifies the form or the *size* of that organ. The islanders of Taui have no other vestment than a shell (*Bulla ovum*), into which they put the penis, that is, the whole of the glans. Mikluko-Maclay, following an examination of many of these shells, concluded that the members of these men must be very small. The conch compressed the member very little, inasmuch as they were able to urinate without removing it, having made a small hole in it for that purpose.

The Polynesians in general are very much ashamed at uncovering the glans.

In Table XI., Fig. VI, of the *Zeitschrift*, 1878, M. M. gives a design of a Taui member. The very short penis is in a horizontal position, as if it came directly out of the belly without any *corpora cavernosa*. This is a singular circumstance among men of the Melanesian group.⁵

⁵ Mikluko-Maclay, *Anthropologische Studien, gesammelt auf eine Reise in West-Mikronesien und Nord Melanesien, Zeitschrift für Anthrop.*, Berlin, 1878, Vol. IV.

NOTE GA.—In the Dahomey region, the men are circumcised, while among the women there is in use an artificial prolongation of the pubic labia, very similar to a she-goat's breasts. From the time the girls are very young, certain elders occupy themselves with this operation; and the mother who did not see to it would be accused of neglecting the education of her daughters. It seems that the men take a great delight in manipulating these appendices, which are known as *Tu*, and which resemble the gills of a turkey cock. There is a proverb which says: There is no pleasure for Venus without the *Tu*. This custom is also found among the Great Popo tribe.

NOTE HA.—Samuel Butler gives us a description of infibulation as he witnessed it in Nubia.⁶

"The girl while still young is stretched out on her back upon the ground, her legs being drawn up and her knees flexed in opposite directions. As she lies thus, the pubic labia on both sides for almost the total extent of the bone are scraped away, there being left at the bottom a gap of about a quarter of an inch in length, into which a reed of about the circumference of a goose feather is inserted. When this has been done, the edges of the labia, still bleeding, are drawn together in order that they may be joined again as they grow out; and there is no other opening left except that small hole through which the reed is to be inserted.

"In order that a conjunction may be effected and that the surface of the labia cut by the scalpel may grow together as well as possible, the girl's legs, knees and heels are bound together by thongs. This is done in order that the lesser labia which are already growing out may not be separated as a result of any jar or tension. After a few days, they adhere together, and nothing is left of that appearance which nature originally gave them. That portion which is next to what is commonly known as the mount of Venus is now as smooth as you see it in certain sculptured feminine figures. When the reed is removed, there is left but a tiny aperture for the purpose of urinating.

"Once this artifice has been practiced, the girls are free to consort with youths until their wedding day arrives, at which time there can be no question as to their being a virgin.

"That feast which is celebrated in honor of the nuptials marks an end to this imposed chastity. The bride is now turned over to certain of her friends who perform the function of bridesmaids. A woman who is skilled at the business now inserts a curved and sharp-pointed iron instrument into the false urethral canal, so curved as to fit that canal, in order that through manipulation of the point of the instrument such portion of the skin as is necessary may be perforated. With a thrust, the tegument is severed and the edges are now of about the same length as before. From this time forth, a very close watch is kept upon the bride by the bridesmaids, who conduct her to the bridegroom's hut. There they remain outside waiting for a certain signal agreed upon by custom; and as soon as they

⁶ Text in Latin.

hear it, they set up a chorus of wailing feminine voices, at once sharp-pitched and merry. . . . Before the woman can have a child, they must a second time dilate her vagina, which after childbirth, by means of an implement inserted at the last preceding menstruation, is once more contracted."

NOTE IA.—A Kurmi (Bengal) marries when he feels like it, takes as many wives as he wishes, and may abandon them when he sees fit. The widows must remarry. A married woman wears an iron ring on her arm; if the husband takes the ring away from her, it signifies a separation.

This caste has taken from neighboring tribes many marriage customs, for example the feigned struggle over the theft of the bride. But first there is the ceremony known as *Dwar Khanba*, consisting in a visit from the bridegroom's friends, who pretend that they are strangers come to see the bride in order to inform her fiancé concerning her; and there is a second visit by the bride's friends to the bridegroom's house for the same purpose. The betrothed pair must bathe every day until their wedding.

The marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the customs of certain aborigines (the Nrauns). The groom for example must first be wed to a mango tree, which he embraces and to which he is bound, the tree having been painted red. The cord used to bind him is then employed in tying a number of leaves from the tree about his hands; and so he goes to the bride's house.—"Where are you going?" his mother asks him.—"I am looking for a servant maid."—He mounts a *bahre*, and with his friends sets out for the bride's home. There her brothers hold him as a mock prisoner until he redeems himself with gifts of clothing. Then the bride appears to receive the gifts brought by the parents-in-law. Then she is bound to a *mahwa* tree, after which she is carried in a large hamper to the wedding bower, where the bridegroom receives the *sindurdan*. This is the final step, which the bystanders greet with the cry: *haribol-sindurdan!* In certain districts, the *sindurdan* is still accompanied by blood, by way of signifying that the nuptial pair are now one flesh and one blood.

With the Uraus, of Bengal, the parents marry off the children when the latter reach the age of puberty; but in most cases, the choice has already been made by the young man, his parents' selection being merely *pro forma*. The girl's price ranges from four to twenty rupees. The oracles are consulted, and when all is favorable, the bridegroom's friends, fully armed, go to the bride's house, where the latter's friends, also armed, are awaiting

them. After a mock battle, there is general dancing. The two groups then go to the village and gather in a bower which has been erected in the courtyard opposite the bride's house. A stone is placed here for pounding aromatic spices along with a bundle of rice and a plough-yoke (*Iflugjoch*). The couple sit down upon it in order to complete the ceremony of the *sindurdan*, which the bystanders are not supposed to witness, for which reason they cover themselves with cloths, while the armed guards of honor stand about brandishing their weapons. There is a volley to announce the end of the solemn act. (Dalton.)

NOTE JA.—Among the Oua-Teitas (equatorial Africa), although the bride is here purchased with a certain number of cows, there is still a simulation of rape. The young woman flees and seeks refuge as far away as possible, in the hut of some relative, until her fiance finds her and takes her. Friends come running up and, seizing her two by the arms and two by the legs, hoist her to their shoulders and bear her to her future domicile, amid songs and dances. The bridal pair are there shut up for three days without any food. Then the bride is rubbed with oil from head to foot, decked with pearls and with jewels, and a band of maidens conduct her to her father with singing and dancing; and after some little time, she returns for good to her new dwelling.

NOTE LA.—The Russians, who took from the Greeks, the greater number of their civil and ecclesiastical regulations, maintained down to the last century a singular custom in connection with the marriage of the Czar. The leading daughters of the nobility were assembled and obliged to wait in the palace for their sovereign to make his choice. Some would have it that this custom was observed for the wedding of Theophilus, Emperor of the East. He strode up and down with a golden apple in his hand between the two rows of girls. His eye fell upon the pretty Icasia; and all that this prince, who was not apt at making a speech, could find to say was: "Women have done a lot of harm in this world."—"That is true, Sire," was the young girl's vivacious response, "but they have also done much good." This spirited and uncalled for reply displeased the Emperor, who turned his back. Icasia went to hide her shame in a convent; and it was Theodora, who had remained modestly silent, who had the golden apple.⁷

⁷ Cf. Gibbon's account.

NOTE MA.—The Macas of Ecuador are polygamous, but have few wives. They buy these, in the case of women of the same tribe, carry them off violently if they belong to other tribes; but these wives who are carried off are killed a short while afterward, and their heads are embalmed to be preserved as trophies.

NOTE NA.—The Bongos, it appears, may not have more than three wives; but they may not have one even, unless they are able to pay the bride's parents or are willing to take an old woman. The ordinary price of a girl is ten iron slabs, weighing two pounds each, and a score of lance heads. When divorce occurs, the wife's father must restore at least a portion of the dowry. If the husband sends his wife home, the latter may remarry again and may even take the children, providing the husband consents. If, however, the husband keeps the children for himself, the father-in-law must restore the entire price asked for the bride. A woman's sterility is always ground for divorce. In the case of adultery, the husband seeks to slay the seducer and beats his wife. He who has been circumcised cannot hope to make a good match among the Bongos. The ♂ may not marry until they reach the age of eighteen; the ♂ may marry at fifteen.

NOTE OA.—The Moors of southern Berbery regard as very beautiful a girl who attains the weight of a camel's pack; for this reason, mothers oblige their daughters to drink huge cups of camel's milk and to consume enormous quantities of couscous. (Mungo Park.)

NOTE PA.—From time immemorial, among the Cols of the district of Singboun, in India, those men who wished to take a wife must purchase one. This custom arises for the reason that women are very rare. The price asked by parents for their daughters varies from thirty to forty head of cattle. The consequence is, only the rich are able to afford wives. Some years ago, there was noticed a perceptible decrease in the number of marriages and a large increase in the number of illegitimate births, and there was thought of changing this custom, but nothing came of it. Colonel Dalton, commanding officer at Chota-Nagpou, did succeed however in procuring a modification. After having consulted the principal personages of the region, he assembled a council. In the course of this council, he had quantities of punch served, and afterward induced them, one way or another, to pass a decree that from then on the price of a woman

was not to exceed ten head of cattle or the equivalent. The price was to be: a pair of oxen, a mare and seven sheep in the case of those girls destined for rich husbands, and seven sheep for those without property. This law is now strictly observed.

NOTE QA.—The Kurs, or Kurkurs, or Mnasis of Bengal must purchase their wives. The price varies according to the means of the bridegroom, from ten head of cattle to a few rupees. It is regarded as good form to leave to one's own parents the choice of a bride. The parents' friends break the happy news to the bride; but on their way to the bride's house, it behooves them well to observe the signs that strew their path. The hoot of a screech-owl on the wing is sufficient to interrupt any proceeding of this sort, while a falling bough signifies that death is near for the bridegroom's parents. To meet with empty amphoras is a bad sign; a serpent indicates wealth, a *mistkäfer* poverty. If the young lady accepts the offer, the day is set for the presentation of the bridal gifts, following which the wedding day is determined upon. The bridegroom ties as many knots into a rope as there are days remaining until his wedding, and each day undoes one of them. When the last one has been untied, he is ready to bring his bride home. The latter is accompanied by her women friends. The nuptial ceremony varies. Sometimes it consists in drinking goblets of rice brandy, mixing the contents of one with that of another. Among the Mundar, or Santals, the bridegroom upon his wedding day goes with his men friends to the bride's house; and after the pair have been painted yellow, they are married in a tree ceremony, in the course of which they are bound to trees and their faces are smeared with minium. Bride and bridegroom then take turns in streaking each other's foreheads with minium, while the bystanders bathe them with water. On the following day, they all bathe in a neighboring stream.

Among the Hos, it is the custom for the wife, after a few days of marriage, to flee; and the husband must look for her and bring her home with a show of violence.

The Birhors streak their foreheads with blood instead of with minium, which would seem to have been once the custom with all the Kolarian tribes. The Mnasis, for example, have wholly abolished the custom of smearing the forehead. All they do is to whirl about a bamboo pole, near which stand a lighted lamp and a stone for crushing aromatic spices, upon which are placed seven small heaps of rice and Indian saffron. Each time around,

the bride must overturn one of these heaps; when this has happened to the last of the heaps, the *Brautführer* shakes the pole forcefully and shouts: It is finished. All these marriage ceremonies are accompanied by much music, singing and dancing, and a large quantity of rice brandy is consumed.

NOTE RA.—It is not generally known that in the republic of Venezuela there exists a bachelor's stone, and that the stone in question is at the Exposition Universale, under a glass case in the colonial section. Upon beholding this stone, one is led to make certain profound reflections.

What is the bachelor's stone, anyway? It is a piece of smooth and polished quartz perforated in the middle and adorned with parrot feathers. When a Venezuelan young man saw a young girl and wished to make her his bride, he put on his best clothes, went to her parents, and made known his desire. If he was accepted, the father hunted up a good sized piece of quartz and addressed the suitor very much as follows: "You are a nice young man, and I shall be glad to have you for a son-in-law; but inasmuch as patience is a virtue, and inasmuch also as I should like to be sure that your love for my daughter is not like fire in straw, you must take this rock, pound it up, polish and perforate it; and when you have done so come back, put it about your fiancée's neck, and the two of you shall be united."

The young man received from the girl's father neither hammer nor chisel nor any other implement to assist him in his labor, which lasted for two or three years. Then he came back, put the stone about his fiancée's neck, and the two were married. What greater proof of love could there be than this? At Venezuela, they married for love; they looked upon the institution of matrimony as sacred and so the young men thought nothing of spending two or three years in a persevering attempt to win the one they loved. These customs will appear outlandish and primitive to us civilized beings who get married in three weeks' time.

NOTE SA.—There has been much talk of a maidens' fair which is held every year in the United States. The parents bring their daughters to this singular fair, whither marriageable bachelors hasten for the purpose of providing themselves with wives with as little ceremony as possible. The origin of this species of market for the fairer sex is not commonly known; it is as follows:

The first English colonists to establish themselves in America

were all bachelors. The treasurer of the emigration company, Mr. Sandys, rightly thought that the best means of bringing the emigrants to care for their new country and of arousing a proper degree of emulation in them was to procure families for them; and so he began considering as to how he might provide them with wives. With this object in view, he sent from England to Virginia ninety young and beautiful girls, furnished with certificates attesting their unchallengeable respectability. They had a good voyage over, and upon their arrival at Jamestown were publicly exhibited to the gaze of suitors. No one of the girls was forced to marry against her will; but inside of twenty-four hours, all of them had been married off, all of which goes to show that timeliness is a great advantage in any circumstance.

Each of the bridegrooms had to pay the boat fare of the one he had picked for his wife, amounting to one hundred twenty pounds of tobacco. The price, as may be seen, was cheap enough; and the company treasurer, in view of the striking success of the first expedition, organized a second one and raised the price bringing it up to one hundred fifty pounds of tobacco. The Jamestown bachelors enthusiastically paid the hundred fifty pounds; and so it was, the first European families were founded in Virginia between 1616 and 1618. This is the origin of the maidens' fair which tradition to this day has preserved at one place in America, where women still are not lacking.

NOTE TA.—Annibale Gabrielli has collected within the space of a few pages these curious notes on the *scampanata*, or *charivari*:

The name by which this strange custom that we are here discussing is commonly known is *Scampanata* or *Cembalata*. La Crusca would have the form to be *Baccano*, while in Tuscany, the lower classes still say *Stampita* and in Lombardy *Cecconata*.

As for the original low Latin word, *Charivarium*, or *Calvaricum* (see Ducange, *Glossarium*), no trace of it remains with us, but it is preserved in the *Charivari* of our transalpine neighbors. But I have found a quite unusual etymology for the French word, in a curious work written during the last century, and as it happens, directed against those *scampanate* which accompany the weddings of widowers.⁸

⁸ *Dei Baccani che si fanno nelle nozze dei vedovi detti volgarmente Cembiata o Scampanata*, Dissertation by Bartolomeo Napoli, Lucca, 1772.

"These (says the writer in question) are a vestige of the Bacchanalia; and the French have always been so well aware of this, that they have even given to these bacchanal rites the name of Charivari, which is derived from the Greek, that is to say, from the verb *Charibareo*, which means to deafen one, or from the noun *Charibarias*, which means sometimes a drunken din, and sometimes a weird hubbub of songs and music, it all being connected, it would appear, with an insane manner of staging a feast or a sacrifice, such as is characteristic of the Corybantes, and which is expressed by the verb *Choribaziao*."

This fantastic explanation is interesting by reason of the utter nonchalance with which our Abbé friend digs up etymologies, citing so-called Greek nouns and verbs, which, however, no Greek dictionary ever dreamed of including.

To undertake to say what the significance of the *Cembalate* was, would be a waste of effort. Ducange gives us, under the word *Charivarium*: "*Ludus turpis tinnitibus et clamoribus variis, quibus illudunt iis, qui ad secundas convolant nuptias.*" ("Game consisting of unseemly din and various noises with which sport is made at second marriages.") The custom would seem to have come down to us from the Middle Ages, with the introduction of more varied instruments (dishpans, saucepans, drums, etc.), got together (I quote the words of Bartolomeo Napoli) "to furnish a bridal serenade on the part of the ill-tempered ones of the countryside, a serenade given on three successive nights and lasting several hours each time; and sometimes, in addition to all this, lighted rockets were let off in the air in the direction of the bridegroom's house, accompanied by shouts and insults. Unless the poor couple are sufficiently patient to keep perfectly silent, almost without breathing, they may expect this tempestuous serenade to be repeated from three to five times; and to cap it all, they themselves may look forward to being ridden on an ass through the public streets, amid the jests and jibes of a ruffraff crowd, the whole thing ending with a great bonfire." And elsewhere, the same testy author adds: "They shout their songs through their hands placed trumpetlike to their mouths, through which they let out their words as if they were beating time. . . . And just before dusk, they ride around the countryside, on horseback and armed, beating upon great drums to stir up the countryside, urging all the inhabitants to come and take a part."

It would be more to the point to investigate the origin of the thing itself, rather than to spend time over the word. The tome of which we have made use traces the beginning of the

custom back to the first Christian centuries, and more precisely, to the doctrines of the Montanists, and the Novatians. Who would ever have thought it? This much, however, is known to all, that one of the outstanding ideas of Montanus, of Novanus, and of Novatianus was an abhorrence for second marriages, against which they displayed considerable heat in their writings and in their sermons; so much, indeed, that Herodius remarked that to find fault with such marriages was equivalent to aping the Novatians. Under the influence of the Catharina heresy, all the to-do which was made about marriage itself, as a sort of vestige of the ancient *Fescennina*, would appear to have been transferred and, with greatly increased proportions, applied to second wedlock. Such, at any rate, is the belief of Don Bartolomeo Napoli.

In any event, the custom was bitterly condemned from the beginning of the fifth century on. St. John Chrysostom is the first to speak harshly in many passages against these (as he calls them) *concertationes*; and in one of his Homilies in particular, taking his text from a verse in the Psalms, *Iubilate Domino omnes terrae*, he states that it is not his purpose to put mirth and joy under ban, but rather to condemn "*vacuos clamores, vocem inconditam, manus incassas, pedes supplodentes. . .*" ("vain clamors, noisy voices, hand-clappings and stamping of feet. . ."). To the words, then, of Holy Fathers, Canonists, and Theologians, are to be added the prohibitions of numerous diocesan and provincial councils held in France, and of many synodal Statutes in force in French churches, such, for example, as in the church of Avignon, in 1337. The custom of serenading, nevertheless, remained and flourished in spite of bans and ex-communications, especially in French villages. The long series of episcopal synods, interdicting the *charivari veroni*, dates from 1404 to 1674, as is indicated by G. B. Thiers, in his *Traité des Jeux et divertissements*. Frequently, ex-communication was held over the heads not merely of those who took part in these celebrations, but also over all who were present at them, for the reason that—as Thiers tells us—"it is certain that the charivari is done in derision of marriage, an institution which St. Paul speaks of as a *great Sacrament in Jesus Christ and in the Church*; and it is for this reason that the Councils and the Bishops have condemned it."

In Italy as well, "many attentive and zealous bishops have raised their voices like a sounding trumpet against so unholy a

custom, and have condemned it to a perpetual banishment from their dioceses." St. Charles Borromeo called a council expressly for the purpose; and in the same century, the sixteenth, he was imitated by the bishops of Bergamo and Padua. A synod of the Dioceses of Corneto and Montefiascone is reported by Napoli: "*Quia vero viget a multis annis pravus quidam abusus, quo irreligioso fragore, prophano strepitu et immoderatis clamoribus in derisum veniunt secundae nuptiae, nos illum tanquam absonum juri, bonis moribus et religioni damnamus.*" ("Inasmuch as there has been prevalent for a number of years a certain unholy abuse, which with an irreligious uproar and a profane and immoderate clamor, would bring second marriages into derision, we hereby condemn that custom in the name of law, good manners and of religion.")

The civil authority comes to the aid of the religious; and we now see heavy fines prescribed for those who take part in the serenades. Bouchel, in his *Bibliothèque du Droit François*, tells us that there were five decrees of the Parliament of Toulouse prohibiting *Charivaris*: the first dated January 8, 1537; the second, November 9, 1545; the third, March 11, 1549; the fourth, March 5, 1551; and the fifth, February 6, 1642. And among the penal Decrees of the Senate of Lucca, we find one in the year 1569 in which, "by way of obviating the scandals and inconveniences which may arise from the evil custom of staging Cembalate, with bells, horns, and other similar instruments, with lighted rockets and with personal insults, this being done especially when a wife is taken, it is hereby forbidden to any person of whatsoever state, condition or walk in life to stage or to countenance such Cembalate and serenadings, under pain of three crowns for each offense, a third part to go to the complainant and the balance to the Magnifico Comune."

But in spite of continual prohibitions, the custom continued to exist down to the end of the last century; we have evidence of this in the three hundred closely packed pages which the good priest, Bartolomeo Napoli, felt it necessary to publish against the unsanctified rite, "as to which, whether it is more insolently practiced at Lucca than elsewhere, I cannot say; but I do know that an ecclesiastic who is in every way deserving of credence, has kindly informed me by letter that 'such a hullabaloo as they make here at Lucca, I do not recall having met with anywhere else.'"

To give a summary of all the various kinds of argument with which Napoli would prove that "the base, iniquitous and irreligious custom" is a "most vile assortment of scandalous obscenities and sacrilegious impudences," would not be easy; theology, the Holy Scriptures, canonical law, Roman law—all serve to aid the learned writer in shaping his conclusions.—"Certain persons," he tells us, "have raised the objection that these carryings-on are done out of jest and hence contain no harm; but would those who do the thing want it done to them?"—There follows here a long scholastic dissertation on the various kinds of sport, with the intervention in the matter of Cicero, Plautus, Terence, Aulus Gellius, St. Francis of Sales—a weird amalgam of names, quotations and notes. Moreover, one must "pay attention to the sort of persons who put on these serenades; they will be found to be the wildest and most reckless of the countryside; and it is almost always old or mature men who act as the leaders and directors of these sports. . . ." And in a note, he adds: "One old man, a member of this diocese whom I personally know, having been legitimately forbidden like all the others to take part or to aid in these serenadings, especially at Passion time, showed himself so contumacious and irreligious in the matter that he insisted upon keeping up a din on the roof of his own house directed at one of his neighbors up to the very evening of Holy Friday. *Ab uno disce omnes.*"

If anyone were to raise the objection that a number of the holy doctors of the Church, such as St. Ambrose in his *De Viduis*, have spoken none too warmly on the subject of second marriages, our friend would reply that, the truth is, the Church is none too well pleased when it casts an eye upon these merry widowers, but that it is obliged to be patient and—to blink an eye. And just listen to this: "What sort of wisdom would it be to wish to compel all widowers, that is to say, all those of a sanguine and amorous constitution (!!), along with those who are cold, imbecile and not easily stirred, to remain with parched tongue and burning with thirst, merely because they have been told they must not have recourse to that one remedy of which they stand in need?"

The good father was not wrong.

I should like to terminate this brief chat on the subject of the *Scampanate*, by recalling the fact that an allusion to this clamorous and jocular serenade bestowed upon widowers who remarry is to be found in one of our most pleasing poets, Niccolò Forte-

guerri. In Canto XIII of the *Ricciardetto*, the old hermit, Ferrau, in place of conjuring as he ought those devils occupying the Island where he is, is taken with the graces of the provocative Climene; and to the pious reproaches of Fra Tempesta and Don Fracassa, his companions, he replies that *the cassock is no protection against heat of a certain kind*, and that he would like

"Se 'l diavolo può farsi un sì bel viso,
Di seco star senz' altro paradiso."⁹

He turns then to Climene:

"Dice: O tu sia Climene od il demonio
Vorrei far teco il santo matrimonio."¹⁰

And it is this very merriment on the part of the old hermit which immediately provokes a species of *charivari*:

"E quindi risonar l'isola tutta
S'ode di pentolone e di fischiare,
Come di carneval quando in baretta
Ed in maschere vanno le brigate."¹¹

NOTE UA.—In certain regions of Abyssinia, it is rare for a woman to remarry. Some widows are accustomed to lie awake weeping loudly all night long over the memory of their dead husbands."¹²

NOTE VA.—Among the Agariahs of Bengal, betrothals are from infancy, but girls remain in their parents' homes until the age of puberty. After the *velobring*, they put on silver ornaments. A Brahman officiates at marriages, and he must come from the northwest province. He goes from one village to another marrying couples.

NOTE XA.—As among nearly all the negroes, so with those of Camerun, woman is a domestic animal, for the purpose of coitus and producing children. The fertile woman is esteemed, above all the mother of twins or of many daughters, the latter being

⁹ "If the devil can put on so comely a countenance, to stay with him and call it paradise."

¹⁰ "He says: Whether you be Climene or the devil, I mean to enter into holy wedlock with you."

¹¹ "And now the whole island resounds with cat-calls and the beating of great pans, as at carnival time, when the whole troop goes wearing cap and mask."

¹² Medina, *Los pueblos fronterizos del Norte de Abisinia* (Revista de Antropologia, Madrid, 1874, p. 275).

more esteemed than males, since girls are an article of commerce and a source of revenue for the father.

NOTE YA.—An Apingi husband (equatorial Africa), having caught his wife and a handsome youth in the act of adultery, sold the latter as a slave to the Welsh. This is a very rare case; for while the guilty man customarily becomes the husband's slave and must work for him, he is never under any circumstances sold to other tribes. (Marquis de Compiègne.)

NOTE ZA.—The Mongolian woman is wholly subject to her husband and must remain always in the house as a servant to look after the children and attend to household affairs. The man has but one legitimate wife, but may have many concubines, who live together with the wife, to whom they are subject. The children of concubines have no right to inherit property and may be legitimized only by consent of the Government.

In questions of matrimony it is the bridegroom's family, not that of the bride, which is to be looked into. The constellations under which the pair were born must also be favorable. An unfavorable star may prevent a wedding.

The bridegroom must often pay the bride's parents a purchase price (*kalym*) in cattle, clothing or even money. The bride on her side brings the *jurta* (hut) with its appurtenances. As a result of a quarrel or out of mere whim, the husband may put aside his wife; but the wife similarly has the right to abandon a man she does not love. In the former case, the husband cannot insist upon the restitution of the *kalym*; in the latter case, he may demand a partial restitution. The separated pair may marry again.

The Mongolian woman is a god mother, an excellent house-keeper, but rarely a faithful wife. Debauchery is the rule among wives, and among young girls as well.

The woman often gives orders to her husband and enjoys equal rights with the latter.¹³

NOTE AB.—Certain of the California aborigines, when they wish to keep their women in line, paint themselves with black and white streaks and jump out suddenly at the latter to frighten them; they believe that this keeps them quiet. (Bancroft.)

¹³ Prjewalski, *La Mongolia e il paese dei Tanguì*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1875. (TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—I give the reference as the author has it, in Italian.)

In California, one may have a woman killed at the half of what it would cost to procure a man's death.

NOTE BB.—The Tipperah of Bengal have no religious ceremonies in connection with marriage. When the bridegroom is in a position to make the nuptial donation, he has need of nothing but the parents' consent in order to be married immediately. If he is poor, he must work for a year in his father-in-law's house.

NOTE CB.—When the wife of a Kupiu dies, the father or nearest relatives of the dead woman demands a payment of her bones on the part of the husband. This payment is known as *mundu*. It may not be possible to pay it, when death is the result of an enemy, of ferocious beasts, of the cholera, smallpox or a tumor.

Among the Luhupas, when the elder son marries, his parents must seek another dwelling, and must do the same when the second-born is wed.

The Kasia conclude their marriages without any ceremony and dissolve them in the same manner. When the pair wish to separate, they give public evidence of this intention on their part, by throwing away certain shells which had been exchanged as gifts between them. The children remain with the mother.

With the Garos, girls have a right to choose their husbands. When a girl likes a certain young man, she lets him know it by making an appointment with him for a remote part of the forest, whither she repairs to wait for him, and where she remains with him for a number of days. Upon returning to the village, the happy mortals inform the public of their union. If a youth were to venture to manifest his love for a girl, he would thereby offend the whole of her family, and the insult would have to be wiped out with the blood of a pig or a large quantity of rice beer. Upon the wedding day, the bride is first conducted to a neighboring stream and after her the groom, where they take a bath. The wedding is in the bridegroom's home. The priest invokes the god's blessing upon the match and consults an oracle to see whether or not they will be happy. In doing this, he stretches the necks of a hen and a cock upon the ground, one beside the other, and beats them with a club. If they both die at once, the marriage will be long and happy. If one of the victims dies first, or if they become separated before dying, it is a bad sign.

With the Katscharis or Bodo, marriage is effected through

exchanging a betel leaf, and divorce by tearing it up. This custom is also to be found among the Dhimal.

The Metsch and Katscharis employ rape. The bridegroom goes to the bride's house accompanied by his friends, and there is a mock battle between these and the bride's friends. The bride nonetheless is always carried off, and a feast and a money gift always put everything to rights.

In the Pani-Kotsch tribes, the women have a great importance. It is they who spin, weave, plant and till the soil all day long. When the mother dies, it is her daughters who get the inheritance. When a man marries, he must live with the mother-in-law and obey her as well as his own wife. Marriage matches are always made by mothers; the latter pay the bridegroom ten rupees, while the groom himself parts with but five. If a husband dies, his widow remarries. Should divorce occur, the husband must pay seventy rupees; and if his family cannot do it, he is sold as a slave.

It would appear that among the Butiar marriage is lacking as an institution or sworn pact, and the men are not in the least concerned with the conduct of their women. Polyandry is also found there.

The morality of the Leptschar is a little higher; polyandry is not permitted, and marriage exists. Marriages are late, however, since it is difficult to get together the amount that a girl costs. The natives sometimes marry on credit, the bridegroom remaining in his parents-in-law's house until the sum is paid.

The Limbus and the Kirantis also purchase their wives, with money or by working in the home of the parents-in-law. It is the man who makes the choice, and who binds the contract, through friends acting as intermediaries. On the wedding day, the pair sit down beside each other. The priest who escorts them then puts into their hands a cock and a hen. He first cuts off the cock's head, and afterwards that of the hen. The blood of the two victims is supposed to flow at the same time, and from the forms it takes is to be made out the future that awaits the couple.

NOTE DB.—The Kisan of Bengal¹⁴ are content with a single wife and have no concubines. Girls marry as soon as they have reached the age of puberty. For a wife, the price is two baskets

¹⁴ Dalton, *Beschreibende Ethnologia Bengalens*, German translation by Oscar Flex, *Zeitschrift für Ethnol.*, 1873.

of rice and one rupee. The nuptial ceremony consists in anointing the pair with oil.

With the Nagbansir of Bengal, bachelors who die are uncereemoniously dumped into a ditch; but those who have fulfilled their duties as husband and father are honored with a funeral pyre.

The Kharriar of Bengal have no word for marriage. There was a time when marriage with them consisted merely in a large banquet with dancing, to mark the passing of the bride from her own home to that of her husband. They now have various ceremonies taken from Indian rites.

NOTE EB.—The Igorrotes of the Philippine Islands are also monogamous. A young man picks the girl he likes and without ceremony goes to live with her. If they have a child, the marriage is indissoluble. Adultery is punished with great severity. In the same island, the Tagbanues are polygamous, but only the rich may take advantage of this. Marriage occurs at the age of eight or nine, and the fiancé must pay his father-in-law anywhere from two to twenty dollars.

NOTE FB.—The Felupi of West Africa may have many legitimate wives, while concubinage is at the same time very frequent. When a man wishes to marry a girl legitimately, he asks for her hand and gives a pretentious feast, at which the palm wine flows in abundance. The Bayoti give a cow as a dowry but the other Felupi are not so generous as this.

Among the Bagnuns, the women have a very high position, and their opinion on political matters is given much heed and usually prevails. A man may have as many legitimate wives as he sees fit, not having to pay for them anything more than a cow and a few cups of palm wine. Daughters are betrothed in their seventh or eighth year, but do not cohabit with their husbands until after puberty. Divorce is very easy, the only condition imposed upon the woman being that she does not remarry in the same village. As a result of all this, while adultery is punishable with death or with a large fine, often with the loss of liberty, the occasions for inflicting such punishment are extremely rare.

NOTE GB.—The Patagonians are polygamous. The girl's consent is not necessary for marriage, for the reason that once the purchase price has been paid, the husband seizes her and carries

her off to the forest for a couple of days. This constitutes their honeymoon, and as soon as it is over they return home. But all this is not the case where the daughter of a *cachique* is involved.

NOTE HB.—Among the Bengalian Maler, polygamy is permitted; and when a husband leaves a number of wives upon his death, they become the property of brother or cousin. Relations between the young of the two sexes are very free, and frequently of a romantic nature; but if a mishap occurs, the two guilty ones are expelled from the tribe and they only return after a blood sacrifice. On the wedding day, the bridegroom with his train, goes to the bride's house, where there is a banquet, following which the girl's father joins the bride and groom's hands. The groom with the little finger of his right hand, dipped in cinna-bar, streaks the forehead of his mate; and with their little fingers intertwined, the couple then go to their own home.

NOTE IB.—Certain ancient writers have shown us that polyandry was practiced at Taprobana, and by various African tribes mentioned by Herodotus, by Pomponius Mela, by Pliny, and by Diodorus Siculus.

NOTE JB.—In connection with this colossal figure, we may recall Madame Dubois of the Comédie Française, who on September 12, 1775, boasted of having possessed 16,527 lovers. (?)

NOTE KB.—The Almees of Algeria are girls who go all through the country to satisfy the desires of men, and above all of the French soldiers or natives who find themselves in camp and far from female companionship. This does not prevent their marrying in their own tribes and becoming faithful wives. They belong as a rule to a tribe known as the Uled Nâil, a rich and populous one, located in the central portion of the province of Algeria. It is for this reason that the women in question are known as *nâiliettes*. The Almees of Egypt would seem to be gypsies for the most part, for it is gypsies who take the rôle in many countries of the Orient and they too marry and through marriage are transformed into faithful wives.¹⁵

NOTE LB.—In Hindustan, there is a sect known as *Sacteya*, whose doctrines are hidden away in those recondite tomes, the *Tautras*, which down to the last few years were closed books to foreigners. This sect prescribes the abolition of castes, the use of

¹⁵ Bataillard, *Les Bohémiens en Algérie*, in the *Bullet. de la Société d'anthrop. de Paris*, 1874.

wine, flesh and fish, various forms of magic, and above all, the adoration of woman. This is undoubtedly a reaction against the Brahman code; it is a form of gnosticism; it is the same sect to which the Greeks gave the name of *telestica*, or *dynamica*. Among the sacred books of this sect, may be noted:

Bagala tantram, the litanies of the vulva;
Ananda tantram, the doctrine of pleasure;
Siū archarra chaudrica, rules for amorous adoration;
Anand Calpa Valli, the rites of pleasure.

The great feast known as *Sīva ratri* is a period of the year at which Venus is worshipped. Anyone who desires to make this sacrifice selects a beautiful young girl, of any caste whatever (pariah, slave, courtesan, whore, nautch, the last being preferred), but never a widow, however young or beautiful she may be. This one is called *Duti*, or the *heavenly messenger*, who is to be the mediator between the goddess and the worshipper. She is also called *yogini* (a monk who has a consort); and the *Yogini Hridavam*, or "nun's heart," is a work well known to these sectarians, being popularly known under the name of "*Yom Tantram*," or rite of adoration of the vulva, *yogini* being an occult form of *yonī* (female pudenda).

After fasting and a bath, she is elegantly clad and placed upon a rug. Then are performed in due order the five acts represented by the five Mystic M's: *madya*, *mamsa*, *matsya*, *mautra*, *mithursa*; or wine, flesh, fish, magic and debauchery; the one performing the sacrifice draws a magic diagram and repeats a spell; then meditates upon it all. Prayers are offered, and the divinely inspired and permeated one is then presented with flesh, fish and wine; and that which she does not take, he himself eats and drinks. He thereupon proceeds to undress her and himself; after which, he worships her anew in every member, which leads to this rite's being known as *chakra puja*, or worship of the members. Finally, the worshipper adores the *Agni Mandalam* (vagina) with reverent speech but with lewd gesticulations.

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